DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 044 774 EA 003 119

AUTHOR	Bergquist, A. Bruce; And Others
TITLE	16-20: The Liberal Education of an Age Group. The Four-School Study Report.
INSTITUTION	College Entrance Examination Board, New York, N.Y.
SPONS AGENCY	Carnegie Corp. of New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	70
NOTE	127p.
AVAILABLE FROM	College Entrance Examination Board, Publications Order Office, Box 592, Princeton, New Jersey 08540 ($1.50)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Education, *Adolescents, Apprenticeships, College Bound Students, College Preparation, *Educational Needs, *Emotional Development, Flexible Schedules, *General Education, Junior Colleges, Personal Growth, Problem Solving, Proprietary Schools, Task Performance, Year Round Schools, *Youth

ABSTRACT

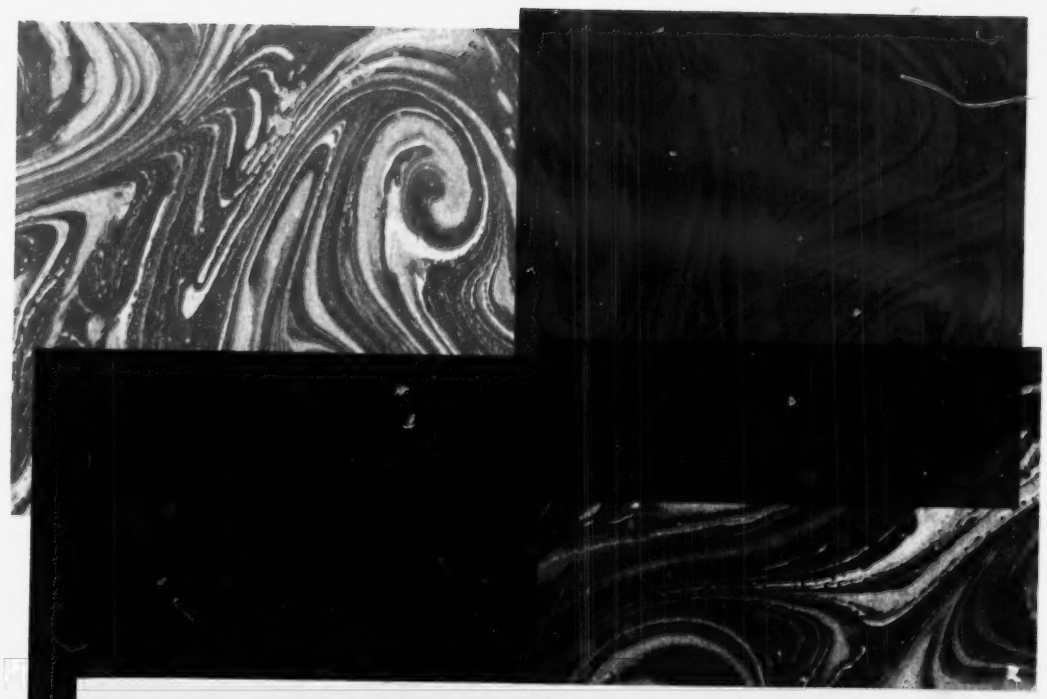
This report of a one-year study of the state of liberal education in four private schools culminates in specific recommendations to these schools and less specific proposals to other institutions. The study's basic hypothesis is that young people of 16 to 20 years of age form a meaningful age group that traditional institutions might no longer serve as effectively as other structures deliberately designed for today's youth and their needs. Recommendations are made for: (1) founding four-year institutions encompassing grades 11 through 14, organized to meet the special educational needs of late adolescents; (2) striving for an integrated community, with a minimal number of explicit specialities and roles; (3) initiating temporary working internships; and (4) designing flexible schedules in units of 10 or 12 weeks available the year around. (Author/MLF)

ED 044774

The Four-School Study Report

16-20:
The Liberal Education of an Age Group

EA 003 119



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

16-20:
The Liberal Education of an Age Group

The Four-School Study Report

An Inquiry Supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and Administered by the College Entrance Examination Board

By The Four-School Study Committee

College Entrance Examination Board, New York

1970

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
College Entrance
EXAMINATION BOARD
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

Copies of this book can be obtained from the College Entrance Examination Board, Publications Order Office, Box 592, Princeton, New Jersey 08540. The price is $1.50.

Editorial inquiries concerning this book should be directed to Editorial Office, College Entrance Examination Board, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

Copyright © 1970 by College Entrance Examination Board. All rights reserved.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 78-113461

Printed in the United States of America

The Four-School Study Committee

A. Bruce Bergquist
Instructor of English, The Hill School

C. Arthur Compton
Instructor of Physics, The Phillips Exeter Academy

Richard S. Pieters
Chairman of Mathematics, Phillips Academy, Andover

Wade C. Stephens
Chairman of Classics, The Lawrenceville School

Harlan P. Hanson
Director of the Four-School Study

Headmasters of the Four Schools

Richard Ward Day
The Phillips Exeter Academy

Edward T. Hall
The Hill School, *to* June 30, 1968

Archibald R. Montgomery, III
The Hill School, *from* July 1, 1968

John Mason Kemper
Phillips Academy, Andover

Bruce McClellan
The Lawrenceville School

Contents

Preface, vii

1. The Problem

Introduction, 2

The Education of Late Adolescents, 9

Liberal Education in Schools and Colleges, 27

2. Four Specific Propositions

The Academic Program of a Liberal Institution, 46

The Liberal Academic Community, 59

Some Possible Varieties of Educational Experience, 71

Achieving Freedom in Allocating Time, 84

3. A General Solution

On Organizing Liberal Education in America, 98

An Example of an Intermediate College, 106

Conclusion, 112

Bibliography, 114

Consultants, 118

Preface

When the camel is said to look as though it had been designed by a committee, any reader immediately comprehends the criticism implied. It is, therefore, with no small misgivings that we submit this joint report. For inquiry, like friendship and art, is more often the work of individuals than of groups. Yet the subject of our study was such that a range of viewpoint and experience was required. Therefore, while it might have been simpler both for us and for the reader if one person had been given our commission, we swiftly and firmly became convinced that any finite committee is too small to assess the insufficiencies of inherited habits and to propose new institutions in their place. Yet a committee so large as to reflect all relevant educational interests, present and future, would have constituted the bulk of our society. And so it is that we found ourselves, too many to be elegant and too few to be wise, obliged to seek and test the opinions of others and to arrive at a consensus among ourselves.

We have, further, taken the liberty of setting our observations and propositions against the test of time. Our report was written in summer 1968, and we have asked ourselves whether, as recent history unfolded, our diagnoses still seemed reasonably sound. We believe that they are, and so we are prepared to lay them before the interested public. Dissatisfactions that earlier were thought to reflect disappointed privilege or spoiled youth have been seen to represent a broad, social need for new approaches and organs in education. We find, too, that the areas of our specific considerations and the thrusts of our recommendations have been matched by congruent developments in recent months.

1. In the latter years of secondary school and the early ones of college, the traditional, discipline-oriented department is being complemented by problem-oriented task forces as modes of instruction and of faculty organization. For—and this is our initial proposition—the liberal, life-enhancing education of late adolescents has come to be seen as something different from their instruction in the skills of informed and organized thought and

different, too, from preprofessional training in one of the inherited "liberal arts."

2. Not only do we believe, and do contemporary developments confirm, that the liberal education of late adolescents requires a reorganization of faculty and curriculum into task-oriented—which is to say student-oriented—units, but we argue further that a residential institution is especially able to extend this student-oriented synthesis into and throughout itself. Coeducation, the diverse uses of instructional space, indeed the deliberate confusion of places for "living" and for "learning" all can help provide an integrated environment, which in turn can best be expected to conduce to integrated personalities. The deliberate striving for such an integrated community, with a minimal number of explicit specialities and roles, is therefore our second proposition.

3. Our third proposition is that even this extradisciplinary organization of the curriculum and of the community is not enough. Psychologists propose, and recent developments show, that late adolescents have a basic need for noncommitting apprenticeships, for temporary working internships through which they can test themselves against the real world. At its worst, this often unconscious desire to belong to an active group and, through it, to manipulate the social environment can result in a violent, pious *Sturm und Drang*. At its best, it can be the occasion of social contribution and personal growth. Convinced that the late adolescent's sense of contribution and his growth are tightly interrelated, we vigorously recommend the expansion of our sense of curriculum and community to include the active organization and execution of such experiences as a regular part of the students' formal education.

4. We are further persuaded that these working internships, as well as other more traditional learning experiences, can best be organized in units of roughly 10 or 12 weeks' length, and that such units, including times for vacation, should be made available around the year. In our fourth proposition we therefore argue for a deliberate, aggressive use of the calendar, as of the weekly schedule, to serve the educational purposes of the institution. We realize that this may seem a minor point, but we have seen faculties renounce significant gains out of a blind reverence for solid courses extending from September to June. And conversely we have watched more

flexible, more subservient calendars summon into existence, around themselves, whole new sets of educational ends.

5. We have seen all these changes, along with others, at work both in the later years of school and in the early ones of college. Indeed, they seem uniquely valuable—we could even argue "necessary"—there. This converging set of increasingly similar tactics, among institutions that are otherwise in little mutual contact, struck us as an empirical demonstration of our study's two basic hypotheses: that young people of 16 to 20 years of age form a meaningful age group and that their appropriate education will require meaningful changes in inherited institutions. Our fifth proposition, flowing from the preceding four, is that four-year institutions be founded, encompassing grades 11 through 14 and organized to meet the special educational needs of late adolescents.

We have tried to make clear what we believe these special needs to be. And we should be quick to agree that they are being met, to some degree or other, at many secondary schools and colleges. But the inefficiencies and actual harm that such divided management works in actual students' lives and the distractions that other, competing age groups with other, competing needs offer at schools and colleges place a presumptive value, we are convinced, upon the "middle" or "intermediate" colleges that we propose. In the face of so much discontent, the burden of proof rests squarely on those who would refuse to consider change.

We do not argue in favor of change for change's sake alone, although we would find value in a variety of educational paths. Nor do we believe that the romantic tone of this decade argues for permanently subjective forms of education. What is needed are new institutions, more congruent with contemporary and foreseeable personal and societal needs than are our present inheritances from another age. For, if it is certain that men require institutions if they wish to live together, it is equally true that the institutions of tomorrow will not be those we know today.

We are not unaware of the way our report seems to slight the "disciplines." We say "seems" since those of value to inquiring, judging minds would be respected, learned, and used in the institutions we describe. But they would be exercised as means to common ends, not as independent ends in themselves. And if it is disturbing to think that, under these

circumstances, such eternal verities as Grimm's Law, the Table of Elements, or the Mean Value Theorems might be slighted in favor of other modes of knowledge or of growth, it may prove comforting to recall that the study of modern languages, of the physical sciences, and of technical mathematics represented another age's sense of "relevance."

Harlan P. Hanson
Director of the Four-School Study

November 1969

1 The Problem

Introduction

The Four-School Study embodies the strong belief, bordering on conviction, of the headmasters of the schools concerned that the inherited institutions of "secondary school" and "university" or "college" may no longer serve some students—or indeed many students—as well as might other structures deliberately designed for present people and present needs. In May 1967, therefore, the headmasters, supported by their trustees, proposed to the Carnegie Corporation of New York that they mount a one-year study to examine the desirability and feasibility of making significant changes in the nature and the functions of the four schools—Phillips Academy, Andover; The Phillips Exeter Academy; The Lawrenceville School; The Hill School—in order that, with these changes, the schools might better foster the emotional and academic development of students during their last two years of secondary school and the first two years of college. "The question," to quote their proposal, "is whether these four schools, individually or collectively, might better serve 16-20 year-olds through structural and curricular changes that (would) provide a continuum through the sophomore year of college."

Several considerations had led the headmasters to believe that the traditional division between the end of school and the beginning of college bears little relationship to contemporary possibilities and needs. Large numbers of students at these schools, as at many others, regularly take college-level courses, under the College Board's Advanced Placement Program, in their eleventh and twelfth grades. Thus it is probably true that, by the end of grade 11, many students at these schools are as fully prepared for college studies as are most secondary school graduates. Put another way, many graduates of these schools may well have—or, with minor curricular adjustments, could have—as much liberal education as have students at the end of the sophomore year at many colleges and universities in the nation.

This condition, alone, would not provide the grounds for deep concern. It might be said, after all, that such students are the very ones who can profit from—indeed, whose futures require—extensive liberal education.

But as the graduates of these schools attend an increasingly wider variety of colleges, the articulation between the spirit and the contents of their secondary programs and those of their freshman years becomes increasingly disjointed. The Advanced Placement Program was established, with assistance from these schools, to provide the educational community with a practical way of assuring a reasonably appropriate transition from school to college. But the reports both of individual students and of professional researchers continue to tell the headmasters that, apart from a few striking exceptions, colleges and universities tend to pay little more than lip service to the acute problem of curricular articulation. Thus, at the very time that colleges and universities are seeking out increasingly heterogeneous student bodies, the numbers of the students they admit make effective, informed curricular counseling and course placement increasingly difficult, if not effectively impossible. Duplication of secondary school work, frustration, a sense of purposelessness are common complaints from the very students whom these schools thought they had "prepared" the best.

Yet to say this is only to disclose another problem. In an earlier era schools like these were explicitely "preparatory schools." (Before that they were indistinguishable from other "academies" which have since become colleges.) Their reputations were based not only on the quality of a student's experience there but also—and perhaps more so—on the ability of the school to prepare students to meet the explicit, curricular requirements for admission to certain colleges. Those circumstances no longer prevail. There is no serious disagreement between what individual secondary schools wish to offer in their "college preparatory programs" and what individual colleges and universities, a few technological institutes aside, will accept. But what was given with one hand was taken away by the other: these bland, generalized curricular requirements for admission are now theoretically necessary in the general but by no means sufficient in the particular. Thus secondary schools like these four can "prepare" their students in one sense for all colleges and in another for none. There simply is not room at every college for all the students who wish to, and are theoretically eligible to, attend it. The result is, of course, the chaos of contemporary college admissions, in which the colleges' equipoised senses of self-interest and of social conscience keep them from accepting either a cen-

tral assignment system or open-market pricing, the two principal ways society has evolved of matching supply and demand.

Things might well be worse; indeed, they probably would be under either of these two extremes. But it is equally clear that the pressures and uncertainties attendant upon the selective admissions process have reached an intolerable point. As the headmasters' proposal stated, "The chaos of college admissions and the related tensions developing from this chaos cannot be overstated." They asked, therefore, not whether history could be reversed and a gentler age restored, but rather whether more fruitful, appropriate arrangements could be evolved to cope with contemporary and predictable numbers of students and their needs.

One of their principal concerns about the present system, or nonsystem, of college admissions is that its very chaotic unpredictability (the schools' perspective of what the colleges regard as flexibility and heterogeneity) has a strongly adverse effect upon both the academic and the emotional growth of the young people directly involved. The latter years of school and the initial ones of college are important years of growth and maturation. Students wish to go to this college or that in the hope, perhaps false perhaps not, of becoming like the other students there. They wish not just to get something out of the college, but to have the college put something of itself into them. They see, in other words, an important element of their future selves at stake in the admissions decision. At the same time, this decision has come to appear—and sometimes to be—increasingly capricious, if only again because of the numbers involved. And whatever its basis, the decision if adverse can have a withering effect on an adolescent's sense of self-esteem. The headmasters wondered whether alternate channels, with different points of articulation, might be useful here, for they hesitate to set about urging their students not to care about where they go to college.

Even if students do survive the uncertainties of admissions and of appropriate course placement, they find that the departmentally oriented college faculty is little interested in them as the people they are or, perhaps more important, hope to become. Trained as specialists to train other specialists, sought and judged as specialists, regarding themselves and regarded as specialists, college professors seem decreasingly inclined or even able to organize and offer the broad, liberal education of late adolescents. Power

resides in the university department, and its members regard with pride and purpose those who decide to go on. Thus the nature and content of those elementary courses which the faculty teach with gusto are determined, ultimately, by the general requirements for the Ph.D. Just as the college has become a league of mutually independent departments, sharing a common heating plant, admissions office, and parking lot, so too the undergraduate curriculum appears to be becoming a hodgepodge of successive courses for potential specialists, spiced (or diluted) with special courses for those presumed to have no further interest in the field.

This arrangement, presuming either a specialist's interests or none, transfers the logic of the graduate school, where the faculty were trained, to the college, where the majority of them teach. Yet students come to the college as much to discover interests as to pursue them, and certainly more to learn about themselves and their world than to master the first steps toward the Ph.D. Thus they report that the college curriculum is overspecialized, obsolete, and often dull.

Graduates of the four schools concerned in this study report that instructors in the lower divisions of colleges and universities seem to take little interest in their students and their courses. In other words, not only the undergraduate curriculum but the faculty is oriented toward the graduate specialties. It even appears to be this basic crystalization of the faculty around its disciplines that determines the content, and hence the style, of its lower-division courses. In any event, the instructors seem to aspire toward, or feel most comfortable in, the more specialized work for which they were trained and hence to find little professional value in the introductory courses in their fields, even slighter value in less specialized courses, and similarly little interest in undergraduates who do not display an intent at least to major in the field.

Given the present nature of their training and the present realities of their profession, the instructors' attitudes are as easy to comprehend as to bemoan. Yet, the headmasters believed, these are not merely minor, incidental insufficiencies; rather, to quote from their proposal once again, they should be regarded as "harmful academically and emotionally to youngsters still very much in their formative years and in need of meaningful relationships with adults."

The rapid growth of junior colleges as instruments for general education—with preprofessional studies in separate, senior colleges—lent an added thrust to these considerations and led the headmasters to wonder whether, under new structural arrangements, residential academic communities such as theirs might not be found peculiarly appropriate for the education of young adults. Supported in this supposition by a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the headmasters asked the College Entrance Examination Board to organize and direct the inquiry by means of a committee consisting of one teacher from each school.

The College Board was founded in 1900 to meet the specific demand of "preparatory schools," both public and independent, for common curricular admissions requirements among the increasing range of colleges to which their graduates wished to go. And since that time the central purpose of the Board has remained that of providing forums and instruments through which the American educational community, acting in concert where no single institution can act alone, might remove barriers to higher education. In the past these cooperative efforts have taken the form of common aptitude and achievement tests, common dates of admissions decisions and of candidates' replies, common forms and criteria for the determination of financial need, common requirements for advanced placement, ad hoc commissions on curriculum, and a constant stream of joint conferences, research studies, and publications. Finding the proposed inquiry consonant with its traditional task, the Board was glad to appoint a director and an assistant director and to furnish the necessary administrative services.

Our committee met almost every week throughout the 1967-68 academic year. It consisted of the four instructors, who remained on part-time teaching assignments at their schools, and the director, formerly a college teacher and administrator and regularly the director of the Board's Advanced Placement Program. The committee also met with the four headmasters at intervals throughout the year. This report, therefore, must be read not as the work of philosophers or historians of education, but rather as an extended observation, on the part of professional participants, of the present state of liberal education in these four schools, other schools like them, still other schools, and in the universities and colleges to which their graduates are proceeding in increasing numbers. The initial proposal and the consequent

inquiry were firmly rooted in the actual experience of the four schools, but the committee realized that there were many others sharing the same concerns. As the study got under way, we became vividly aware of the interconnectedness, through student movement, of American institutions at the secondary and tertiary levels. There is no secondary school that sends its graduates to only one college, just as there is no college that draws its freshmen from only one school. Just as the headmasters had concluded that their concerns reflected problems beyond the competence of present structures, the committee quickly realized that any proposed solutions would have to fit into this broader, national context.

Thus our report, like its predecessor in so many ways—the Blackmer Committee's *General Education in School and College*[1]—consists of specific recommendations from practicing instructors to the schools at which they teach and of more general proposals from a task force of American educators to their colleagues at other institutions. We had no choice. Concerns not grounded in our professional lives might well have proved only anxious musings, and proposals aimed exclusively at four of the nation's 25,000 secondary schools would hardly justify the opportunity at hand.

Like our predecessors on the Blackmer Committee, therefore, to whose report we wish to direct our readers and shall allude in the following chapters, we consulted our own considerations, those of our immediate colleagues, and the thoughts of other persons—professional and lay—interested in the problem. The people who shared our more formal conversations and colloquiums are listed at the end of this report. A bibliography at the end of the report lists the books and articles we found most useful.

In one sense both lists are extremely inadequate. For our problem was not simple, involving as it did an estimation of the natures and relationships, both present and future, of American society, late adolescence, and formal education. On the other hand the authorities we consulted impressed us by their insight and dedication to the problem. Therefore, while our consultants can hardly be held responsible for our conclusions—indeed, their criticism served us better than agreement—we wish to thank them publicly here. The generous candor with which they received our inquiries gave our

1. Alan R. Blackmer et al., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.

meetings both utility and grace. Whatever values we may have gained from these consultations we clearly owe to them, while our report's insufficiencies remain, of course, our own.

We were repeatedly made aware of the complexities involved in effecting many of the apparently slight changes we propose at any one institution. Frequently we consulted with committees that had a one-year life span, like our own, but could spend the whole year on a single topic that we could only consider briefly. But we were consoled by the realization that we were not alone in our diagnoses of issues and proposals for change. In our readings we frequently found only recommendations about research needed on problems that we had concluded had to be faced. Again, we were reassured to find companions on the trail.

It is, therefore, with as many disclaimers to any mastery of our subject as thanks to the dozens of teachers, students, physicians, administrators, and others with whom we talked, that we report our conclusions to the four headmasters and a broader public. Yet, if general education marks the willingness to act before all the evidence is in, interested ignorance is a highly proper stance. *Ars longa, vita brevis est.* But no committee can hope to sit forever.

The Education of Late Adolescents

The four headmasters had agreed that responsibility for the liberal education of late adolescents is at present shared between secondary school and college; that it is an important task; and that these institutions could probably be assisted in their performance of it through structural changes in their present, inherited arrangements. The first task of the committee was therefore to arrive at a working definition of liberal education and at an estimate of its importance. At the same time we had to make a judgment of the homogeneity of the group we were asked to consider, 16- to 20-year-olds, and to relate this judgment to the rest of the American educational scene. Indeed, we found ourselves obliged to face this latter issue first.

With an increasing proportion of late adolescents completing secondary school and going on for at least two years of college, it seemed to us that the general needs of such young people, rather than any assumptions based upon conditions of the past, should be the starting point in considering their education. The days when the more bookish of the young genteel went to college to be introduced to Western culture, when others were sent to grow up out of the way, and when ambitious young people from a variety of backgrounds went as a first step toward professional school are clearly past. Increasingly American society simultaneously permits and expects young adults to acquire the insights and skills of at least two years of college. And those whom circumstances force to content themselves with the lesser, legal minimum of schooling constitute the dropouts who appear on the unemployment lists.

These facts have many consequences. To us they meant that grades 13 and 14 can no longer be considered part of a special program, which a minority of the age group elect or are able to pursue. Instead, they have become integral parts of the educational plans of every state and increasingly of every family as well. This is not to say that their curriculums, to

the extent one can generalize about them, have changed. It is to say, however, that their context is much broader than before, and that their planners must take account of a broader generality of students' prospects and interests than was earlier the case. And so it is that we find the student—indeed, a range of students—replacing the curriculum as the given.

We therefore sought to consider 16- through 20-year-old students in the present world. Consulting first with physicians and psychiatrists attached to schools and colleges, discussing the matter with colleagues, recalling our own experiences, and then reading more broadly, we became increasingly aware of the marked similarities of young people in this age group in contrast to persons, say, two years younger or older. These late adolescents, to settle on the useful term that Blos and others use, are in control of mature mental processes but not yet of organized egos and distinct life plans.[1] Having mastered what Jean Piaget calls the "last step of childhood" roughly during the ages from 12 through 15, they are able "to think about their thoughts, to construct ideals, and to reason realistically about the future."[2] Astonishingly many of them regularly accomplish college-level studies while still in school. With this mental maturation complete, along with the more obvious physical changes, these young people then experience approximately four years of emotional growth or else are stunted.

Blos and other students of this growth make clear the late adolescents' need for a sense of personal identity, of achievement, and of self-esteem, and their thirst for tentative, yet real, engagements in the adult world. Jencks and Riesman point out that students no longer come to college to become socialities or scholars but rather to discover "a visible relationship between knowledge and action, between the questions asked in the classroom and the lives they lead outside it."[3]

Or, as we would put it, the lives they sense they are about to lead outside

---

1. Peter Blos, *On Adolescence; A Psychoanalytic Interpretation.* First paperback edition. New York: The Free Press, 1966, especially pp. 131-135; also Committee on Adolescence, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, *Normal Adolescence: Its Dynamics and Impact.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968, pp. 80-94.

2. As quoted by David Elkind in *The New York Times Magazine,* May 26, 1968, p. 73.

3. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968, p. 533.

it. For these are the years in which they are testing both their selves and their world in quest of satisfying life styles and careers. Thus Douglas H. Heath sees the liberal arts college as an educational institution deliberately contrived to induce as rich and harmonious an emotional and mental maturation as possible.[4] Joseph Katz and Nevitt Sanford find "the prime meaning of liberal education" in "the development of the personality."[5] And Paul Woodring makes a vigorous plea for a return from premature and inefficient specialization to that liberating education which "enables us to see the world whole and to see ourselves in perspective."[6]

This is not to gainsay the value of specific mental skills and sensitivities. Woodring, for instance—whose reassessment of higher learning appeared too late to offer us more than encouraging corroboration of our work—ultimately questions the ability of the specialized multiversity to offer a truly effective liberal education. Yet he also offers the description of the liberally educated man proposed by the Blackmer Committee some 16 years ago and accepted widely since:

"The liberally educated man is articulate, both in speech and writing. He has a feel for language, a respect for clarity and directness of expression, and a knowledge of some language other than his own. He is at home in the world of quantity, number, and measurement. He thinks rationally, logically, objectively, and knows the difference between fact and opinion. When the occasion demands, however, his thought is imaginative and creative, rather than logical. He is perceptive, sensitive to form, and affected by beauty. His mind is flexible and adaptable, curious, and independent. He knows a good deal about the world of nature and the world of man, about the culture of which he is a part, but he is never merely 'well-informed.' He can use what he knows, with judgment and discrimination. He thinks of his business or profession, his family life, and his avocations as parts of

---

4. Douglas H. Heath, *Growing Up in College: Liberal Education and Maturity.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1968. The entire book is directed to this point.

5. "The Curriculum in the Perspective of the Theory of Personality Development," in Nevitt Sanford, ed., *The American College; A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962, p. 424.

6. Paul Woodring, *The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968, p. 201.

a larger whole, parts of a purpose which he has made his own. Whether making a professional or a personal decision, he acts with maturity, balance, and perspective, which come ultimately from his knowledge of other persons, other problems, other times and places. He has convictions, which are reasoned, although he cannot always prove them. He is tolerant about the beliefs of others because he respects sincerity and is not afraid of ideas. He has values, and he can communicate them to others not only by word but by example. His personal standards are high; nothing short of excellence will satisfy him. But service to his society or to his God, not personal satisfaction alone, is the purpose of his excelling. Above all, the liberally educated man is never a type. He is always a unique person, vivid in his distinction from other similarly educated persons, while sharing with them the traits we have mentioned."[7]

Clearly, the Blackmer Committee rejected the notion that the liberal education of the next generation was to be accomplished through its mastery of common heritage in the form of a set number of great books. But it is equally true, from this description of their purpose and from an inspection of the means that they propose, that they thought similar types of instructors—may one say "of gentlemen"?—were teaching both in the later years of school and the early years of college. And they thought these instructors taught in styles, and in institutions, that presumed an intimate connection between learning and life: the entire second half of their description explains how the liberally educated man "can use what he knows." Thus, presuming a community of faculty purpose, they identified a curricular continuum in which they proposed a clarification of terms, the elimination of waste, the heightening of student motivation, and a general sharpening of attention to the common task. The Advanced Placement Program, through which more than 3,000 schools now seek to meet these goals, derived largely from the Blackmer Committee's report.

Yet it is not evident that there still exists that moral link the Blackmer Committee could presume between learning and life in the education of late adolescents. On the contrary, recent reports suggest that professional "objectivity" tends to concentrate on precise, cognitive skills in profes-

7. Alan R. Blackmer, et al., *General Education in School and College.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 19-20; Woodring, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

sionally defined disciplines to the exclusion of the less distinct, but pressing demands of actual issues.[8] The present committee believes strongly that this moral link is necessary to what is commonly regarded as liberal education and that, where it is found to be missing, it should be restored. Not that we think that ethical precepts and values should be set forth in catechistic style. Life is not so simple that wisdom can be taught. But certainly the instruments of liberal education must be measured against this end. For we continue to believe, as the Blackmer Committee clearly did, that liberal education unrelated to later human perception and action is meaningless. And however contingent and arbitrary inherited liberal disciplines may be, these modes of perception and analysis do, in fact, appear to yield those sustaining theories and abstractions which, paradoxically enough, often prove most practical in life.

Surely it is this prospect of a student's future life, not the demands of his instructors' training, by which the adequacy of his liberal education must be judged. We find we are not alone in this belief. President John W. Chandler of Hamilton College argued in his recent inaugural address for "men of competence and compassion. Compassion without competence is impotent. And competence without compassion is likely to result in little more than skillful self-aggrandizement." Freedman equates "development of personality and character" to "true liberal education."[9] And even Jencks and Riesman, who seem on the whole to regard concern for liberal education as somewhat nostalgic, do imply that the purpose of undergraduate programs is to help young people become "more open-minded, versatile, empathic, self-confident, altruistic, or even competent."[10] Again, we do not think that the acquisition of mental skills of power and precision is beside the point. No one will dispute the value of the principal liberal arts. Our point is simply that contemporary, and foreseeable, late adolescents in

8. For an eloquent statement of the dilemma faced by a professional Anglicist who would teach undergraduates, see G. S. Rousseau, "What's Wrong with Our Teaching of English?" *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, Vol. 70, No. 13, April 27, 1968, pp. 18-23. For an extended treatment of this subject, see Jencks and Riesman, *op. cit., passim.*

9. Mervin B. Freedman, *The College Experience.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967, p. 33.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 507. For the nostalgia, pp. 510-513.

America can be expected to see little value in the mastery of these formal, academic facts and skills if their instruction is not couched in forms that touch their senses and presentiments of life.

We found several reasons for this state of things, and we suspect there may be more. In the first place, the basic psychological demands of late adolescence seem relatively culture-free. Erikson has shown how such concepts as "moratorium" and "identity crisis" can illuminate understanding of lives led in other times and places.[11] Heath reports that studies being carried on in Italy and Turkey seem to corroborate his analysis of maturation.[12] And the Committee on Adolescence prefaces its report with Hesiod's complaint about the turbulence of youth. For these last years between childhood and adulthood are, in Erikson's useful terms, the years of an integrating sense of self—of learning to work and to love.[13]

As Keniston has shown, for the last thousand years in modern Western European culture, an ever more complex society has confronted late adolescents with an increasing range of roles, of possible identities, from which to choose.[14] Hence the unique importance of education in the history of the West and its secularization after the Industrial Revolution. And hence, too, the growing identity crisis of Western man, as he exchanged the comforts of tradition for existential *Angst*. Keniston argues, and we believe any contemporary observer would agree, that this is particularly true of America, where social mobility is a basic element of our ethos, and social change a major constant of our past. Thus liberal education in America must aim at much more than affording the opportunity for generalists or, for that matter, specialists to gain useful overviews of others' specialties. It must, rather, seek to provide the optimal milieu and means for late adolescents to learn about their world, their society, and their

---

11. Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*. Second edition. New York: W. W. Norton, 1963, pp. 261-266; "Identity and the Life Cycle," *Psychological Issues*, Vol. 1, No. 1, International Universities Press, New York, 1959, pp. 50-165; and his *Young Man Luther*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1958.

12. Heath, *op. cit.*

13. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

14. Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted; Alienated Youth in American Society*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965, especially pp. 241-272.

selves in order to arrive at more fruitful, satisfying lives. The more shifting and complex their world, the more complex this task. Hence the constant quest for identity in American life and letters, and hence too, we propose, Americans' personal attachments to their secondary schools and colleges —the places where they became their selves.

This tendency in the West, verging on necessity in America, for each liberated person to create his own special role in life has been made simultaneously more vigorous and more complex by recent changes in American life. With the growing divisions between the abstractions of school and the realities of the world and between residence and work, adolescents no longer can enter into temporary apprenticeships that help emotional growth and aid career decisions, nor can they even see their fathers at their jobs. Thus to their need, both psychological and cultural, to seek out identities for themselves, and to the vigor with which the world they are about to enter forces itself upon them through the immediacy and vividness of modern media is added the strange glass jar in which they seem to live. They see more of life than did any previous generation, and yet they experience less. They are present at no births, no deaths. They are rarely present at their fathers' offices, factories, and shops. The same society that both affords and requires their education no longer grants them easy access to its texture as they grow. Summer jobs, especially for boys, are either oversubscribed by the unskilled unemployed or else require the specialties of well-trained young adults. And so the years of adolescence are divided between nine months of formal problem-solving and three months of loitering, or, at best, of travel or camp. And all this time father disappears daily to the world of men, which television brings to view but which the youngsters never touch.

If it is true, as William A. Harvey argues, that the well-being of a late adolescent, his "separate wholeness . . . derives from the ego-activity, from manipulation of the environment, from successful function, from pleasure in function,"[15] and if the world American late adolescents are given to live in cannot be experienced, let alone manipulated by them, then it can

15. "Identity and Depression in Students Who Fail," in Lawrence A. Pervin; Louis E. Reik; Willard Dalrymple, eds., *The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966, p. 231.

occasion little wonder when undergraduates either break in or drop out. If they have not begun to taste their world already, they can be expected to have little taste for education for it. They will, instead, turn either in upon themselves in quest of some experience, or out of formal education. We are not convinced that, given the present forms, these disruptions of formal education are always harmful. The Outward Bound Program, student exchanges abroad, even military service have provided fruitful opportunities for personal growth. And increasing claims are made for the virtues of a year spent outside the system between twelfth grade and college.

We sympathize with these claims. But we are not certain that the responsibility and solution should lie outside the system. Surely, if the prime responsibility of the school and college is "to produce the maturity and wisdom which will make true erudition possible,"[16] and if touching real life is necessary for such growth, then formal provisions for such experience should be part of the institutions' plans. Institutions for liberal education exist to organize and offer those requirements for maturation which neither society nor the family can provide so easily or so well. In the past these institutional provisions centered on formal instruction and books, while work and play were gained outside school. But now electronics can bring instruction and information to the home, and special opportunities will have to be created for "work" that is not a part of such instruction. These tendencies are already under way. If late adolescents, like Antaeus, have to touch the earth to maintain their strength, provisions for work and play experiences can be expected to become increasingly common as regular parts of their "formal" education.

We believe that these new conditions of a world brought by technology both closer to young people's minds and further from their lives have other implications in a formal classroom. To the general conditions of late adolescence and of American life, both traditional and contemporary, must be added the immediacy with which electronic media have put events to all people. Young people, in particular, witness arresting phenomena that their instructors can teach them to dissect and analyze and perhaps—with

16. Lawrence S. Kubie, "The Ontogeny of the Dropout Problem," in Pervin, Reik, and Dalrymple, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 34.

enough courses—understand. They need only turn on their television sets to watch their cities burn or soldiers die. Cities have burned before, of course, and soldiers have died, but students at boarding schools and colleges were reading Plato through it all. They had come to Plato from small towns with porches set on elm-lined streets, where world events came filtered through the local or regional newspaper, and where society's decisions were arrived at in a way that seemed inevitable, if not always just, through a complex set of professional institutions.

Things are different now. It is not just that students are learning more in school. They have always been learning more there from year to year; at one time long-division required postgraduate study in Italy. It is rather that they bring to their adolescent years sharper analytic skills, a greater amount of factual information, a more cosmopolitan sophistication, and most important a pressing, if vicarious, sense of the problems their society faces. And at this time in their lives they are thirsting for identification with some larger group, for ideological commitment, and for meaningful engagement with the adult world. Under these circumstances it is unlikely that a course designed simply to prepare them for the next will strike them as anything but quaint. They see reality made visible before them every day; they therefore expect something "real" to happen at school and college. Hence the students' pleas for relevance as well as action. And hence, too, their instructors' retort that what the students really need is the rigor or the cognitive skills the disciplines impart. The instructors gained their liberal education when it offered a true moratorium from the real world. Now, however, social reality cannot be turned off, and any pretense that it isn't there or that it doesn't matter will strike a late adolescent as either barbarous or blind.

This is not to say that the academic disciplines are not social realities too, nor that they do not warrant serious study. Many instructors would say, were they to reflect upon the matter, that true reality is not banal but, rather, obscure, and that any kind of effective action requires analysis and precision. But in teaching, as in medicine, one must take care lest the treatment kill the patient or in this case turn him off.

Given the fact that it is patently absurd to regard all late adolescents as potential scholars, testing themselves against the disciplines' demands, it

clearly is necessary that their interest in their formal education be enlivened and maintained through their having a vivid sense that something is going on in their lives, that they are not fiddling while the world around them burns. This is not a plea for a curriculum designed around theater productions and discussions of current events, however appropriate and fruitful such elements may be. Nor is it a denial of the critical value of those cumulative disciplines—the foreign languages, many sciences, and mathematics—where the new and larger panorama that makes the climb worth while is not always in immediate view. It is, however, the proposition that a bored adolescent, let alone a morally offended one, is in no mood for anybody's rigor, and that cumulative programs leading to an educational goal that only a minority of such students reach, can be trusted to be turning the majority off.

Romance is perhaps the best expression for the style of courses we have in mind, for we hope that they might afford the student a sense of the wholeness of his world, of the human condition, or of himself. Through such courses the student might come to see the wholeness of the purpose of his school or college and the interconnectedness of learning and judging and life.

Not every course can be like that, nor does liberal education come only in the classroom. But enough of the student's activities must have this character to set the scene, to give him a sense that he is being addressed as a total human being and not as a potential major in each of four or five differing, mutually independent fields. It may well be that one such course each year would be enough. In any event, we found many differing, apparently successful approaches to this central purpose: freshman seminars, humanities courses, multidisciplinary courses, independent study, even off-campus internships. At the worst, the students were interested and there. At the best, they had caught a glimpse of how much more there was to learn and how various disciplines might help them learn it.

This reluctance of late adolescents to accept, without convincing argument, the professional disciplines as "liberal arts" is another determining element of the contemporary scene. Just as television, to name but one aspect of the electronic age, has widened and intensified the student's sense of his world, it has done the same for his entire society. In bringing pro-

nouncements of the Pope, the Supreme Court, and political figures immediately into people's homes, it has concomitantly aroused in them a feeling of freedom, almost of obligation, to speak back. If the Protestant Reformation can be attributed to the printing press, which placed theologians and others in direct touch with the literate laity, it is clear that we can anticipate calls for similar "priesthoods of the faithful" in other types of social organization. Indeed, this impatience of individuals with institutions that were honored, or at least accepted, in the recent past has already become apparent. Priests talk back to the Pope; casual voters to the organized political parties; and parents to their duly constituted boards of education. The sense of social due process that such institutions used to provide has become questioned, and people expect to have more direct, more mystic, voices in the ordering of the many facets of their lives.

The Establishment, in other words, has lost its aura. The constant raking up of issues and the publishing of doubts concerning the official explanations of such "mysteries" as John Kennedy's assassination, flying saucers, or the American involvement in Viet Nam simultaneously nourish and are nourished by these grander uncertainties. Similarly, late adolescents no longer pursue liberal education in order to become acceptable to the established institutions about them, but rather to help shape a New Jerusalem. This fact became increasingly clear throughout the year of our inquiry as college and university presidents joined other officials in becoming objects of the attacks of the outraged and sincere.

The romantic quality of the present age, as the mediating institutions between members of society and that society's values lose their force, is sharply clear. Art forms are dissolving in favor of pure beauty or blank space. Love, drugs, and force are held to be allies in the virtuous fight against the one clear villain: order. And so it is that inherited intellectual disciplines, the social institutions for the production of knowledge, are no longer granted the *prima facie*, almost ontological value they once enjoyed.

The discipline of history or of English may well provide a satisfying area of work to its professionals, as do medicine and the law to theirs. It has its great men of the past and of the present, its definition of the field and of its members, methods of operation, and modes of communication. But the very definitions that give it order give it edges, and the romantic

modern youth suspects that much of life falls between the edges of the fields. Thus the free universities have not only shown the desire of young people to have an active hand in creating their educational environments but also, and most profoundly, the areas of their unanswered concerns.

The liberal education of the young cannot best be left in their hands. Demand schooling is probably to be likened less to demand feeding than to practicing medicine without a license. Young people need more than they desire. But the free universities and similar student movements do show the restless spirit of contemporary youth. Only an ironic muse of history would place such angry doubters in a society where they have no choice but to go to school. The ultimate irony is that the schools and colleges they attend have now become sufficiently professionalized to warrant their wrath. Jencks and Riesman coined a word and wrote an extensive book to describe this professionalization of tertiary education. They note that in an earlier age purely graduate universities like Clark, Catholic, and Johns Hopkins developed liberal colleges within themselves. Heath, Sanford, Woodring, and others describe the present reversal of this process, with liberal colleges tending to turn themselves into clusters of graduate departments.[17]

Whatever the necessity and value of this trend may be, it seems clear that the liberal education of today's youth will have to take formal account of the skeptical squint with which young people regard the Establishment, its educational institutions, and their fields. In the presence of an increasing expectation and actual need that they continue their formal education at least through grade 14, to tell such young people that their complaints have no merit is essentially to tell them to eat cake for lack of bread.

We therefore propose that, with a generality of youth being pushed and pulled, by expectations and ambitions, through at least 14 years of formal education, their liberal education be provided in institutions that offer visible alternatives and hence real choices rather than the universal sameness of a postoffice or drugstore. Objectively this seems sensible if only

---

17. Jencks and Riesman, *op. cit.* In *Growing Up in College, op. cit.*, Heath offers the useful term "collversity" for the new departmentally oriented college with its aureole of master's programs. See also Nevitt Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967; Woodring, *op. cit.*

because so many late adolescents cannot be all alike. Nor can they wish the same sort of personal development. Acquiring one's life style is not, after all, quite like buying a postage stamp or aspirin. Subjectively, too, we think our proposal has merit. Only by feeling that he has made a distinctive choice, that the roads not taken would not have been the same, can a student acquire and maintain, during these critically formative years, a sense of the uniqueness of himself.

It seems to us that the basic skills of childhood and the more sophisticated ones of early adolescence can well be taught in a professional, reduplicative manner as can, in turn, those of explicit career training. But for all secondary schools to try to look alike to students, parents, and colleges, and for all colleges to try to look alike in turn is to heighten the students' sense that they are trapped. In a way, of course, they are. Our purpose here is not to propose the abolition of required attendance nor to discourage further education. Our point is that their liberal education will be best served to the extent that students feel that something distinctive is involved in the process and thus that their adult selves are not being created on a bland assembly line.

We wish therefore to close this part of our considerations with two related propositions: We hope that smaller institutions would feel free to manifest their separate identities, and that larger ones would create meaningfully different sorts of programs within themselves. In the first place, it seems to us that the former style of institutional planning is becoming obsolete. By the former style we mean the basic assumption that the academic world consisted of universally accepted disciplines and equally universal values, and that the task of an educational planner, somewhat like that of a neoclassic architect, was to combine these general elements into a specific structure. But an aggregate of general elements is no longer enough. Distinctive, ad hoc courses and programs, based upon the students, staff, or nature of the school, are clearly in order. We go so far as to argue that meaningful differences with respect to other institutions would be worth making simply to heighten the student's sense of self. The several branches of military service provide a good example: some soldiers fight better if they are called marines.

We suspect that the ultimate value of regional vocational high schools

will lie not in the training of their graduates for specific jobs (for who knows what the specific future jobs of specific present students will be?) but rather in giving students and their families real choices among educational environments for their adolescent years. Independent boarding schools seem to be in an especially favorable position to offer choices of this kind. They need not seek their independence; they were born with it and have it thrust upon them daily. Their new purpose, now that every school and yet none is a preparatory school in the older style, should be to use their independence in a deeper, broader way in order to offer as rich a maturational experience to their students as possible. We look forward to similar diversities in the public domain. Alternative high schools, with differing emphases, have existed for many years in New York City and elsewhere. Thus we suspect that regional vocational schools only suggest the beginning of the range of secondary school environments that an increasingly urban, and hence both mobile and compact, society can offer its maturing adolescents.

We observed with interest the growing willingness of independent colleges to offer deliberately unique programs and to organize their students' lives around them. We noted the increasing tendency of larger universities to offer their undergraduates smaller, distinctive units in which to grow. Montieth College at Wayne State University, the separate colleges at Santa Cruz, Ann Arbor, Yale, and Old Westbury, the Houses at Harvard are all intended to complement the undergraduate's professionalized formal curriculum with an ad hoc environment that offers him a complicating, enriching reflection of his maturing self. Thus, too, our interest in the faculty committee report of the State University of New York at Albany, which proposes the establishment there of three quite different modes of liberal education in the thirteenth and fourteenth grades, from which students will be able to choose the styles that they prefer.

In the second place we are persuaded that institutions, both secondary and tertiary, that choose to offer such elective divergencies from the common curriculum must come increasingly to realize that they are all parties to the same endeavor; that for all secondary schools, as they explore such experiments, to expect all colleges to offer their graduates traditional freshman years will be as self-defeating as for experimental colleges to inspect

their applicants' school transcripts for the traditional names and numbers of their courses. It became increasingly apparent to us that, in America at this time, the liberal education of late adolescents is shared between the later years of school and the early ones of college. We say more about this often blind partnership in later chapters. Here we wish to point out only that radical and strikingly similar changes are occurring simultaneously at both levels.

Colleges that offer urban-study programs, independent study programs, and other signals of the future can begin to expect similar entries to supplement the usual Carnegie units of English, history, and mathematics in the schools. Guidance counselors in schools will have to learn the more real, if less easily measured and described, differences in college styles and off-campus programs, rather than the various curricular requirements and testing dates by which the many campuses of the national, professionalized faculty have distinguished themselves in the recent past.

The national, professional disciplines will continue to be relevant to the education of late adolescents. It is the virtual agreement of society on the importance of and nature of these studies that makes their deliberate deployment in the program of a liberal institution both possible and necessary. If in this chapter and in reference to recent trends we have appeared to slight or even to ignore specific curricular considerations, it is hardly because we would expect no formal disciplinary learning in the liberal education of young adults. It is rather that we find the evolving definitions of the liberal disciplines so broadly accepted that the arguments of earlier generations in their favor serve only to flay dead horses today. And we find few institutions that do not require the study of a broad, liberating range of such disciplines by students of the ages of our concern. English, foreign languages, social studies, natural sciences, mathematics, and the arts are available and even benevolently prescribed in both schools and colleges, if sometimes with a heavy, insensitive hand, as the professionalization of the disciplines becomes complete.

Our inquiry began rapidly to concentrate on the possibility that such liberal disciplines, as understood and taught by present professionals, do not necessarily interrelate in the minds and spirits of today's late adolescents, and that efforts to mount and maintain courses offering such explicit

interrelationships are incongruent with inherited institutional and professional thrusts. The problems such efforts seem to involve have frequently been treated in reports from the institutions mounting them. They are discussed from our point of view in the following section of this report. Here we wish only to state our agreement with their common premise: that a set of mutually independent, introductory courses in separate disciplines, however well thought out the mix may be, does not necessarily, or even probably, add up to a liberating curriculum today. The relationships once implicit in a more traditional accepted society are gone, and the disciplines stand bare, a set of different cognitive styles, each defining its own world but none seeming to refer directly to that of the student's increasing awareness.

The solution does not lie in teaching wisdom. If the answer were that simple, there would be no problem at hand. Yet in a deeply real way we are persuaded that an active wisdom rather than a set of passive skills is the aim of liberal education. For late adolescence marks a point, or relative plateau, in the personal development of students at which their growing awareness of self and of world make it possible for them to learn the interrelationship of the disciplines to each other and of all of them to human life. We realize that this active wisdom, or moral link, does not come prepackaged any more than do the truth, beauty, and justice that contemporary discontented youth seem to think are being kept from them by elders out of spite. We are sufficiently at home in the teaching profession to believe that the materials and modes of thought commonly present in the liberal curriculum are, on the whole, helpful to this end. As Jencks and Riesman say, professional academicians seem to do as good a job at post-secondary education as do any available others.[18] But they and others also say that professional disciplines alone are no longer adequate to this end.[19]

The additional, integrating experience may take many forms. We saw it in the distinctive, all-pervasive styles of some institutions, in ad hoc interdisciplinary courses at others, and in off-campus internships in the

---

18. Jencks and Riesman, *op. cit.*, pp. 506ff.

19. Jencks and Riesman, *op. cit.*, p. 508. See also Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail*; Woodring, *op. cit.*

adult world of affairs. Common to all these efforts was an attempt to link the skills and insights of the separate disciplines to the web of experience from which they are derived.

This thrust can be likened to the desire of any professional teacher to help his students become aware, not of isolated facts and strategies of learning in his discipline, but rather of how they all relate and thus related define the field. John Holt, a forceful spokesman for much that we propose, argues this point in his description of *How Children Fail:* "A field of knowledge, whether it be mathematics, English, history, science, music, or whatever, is a territory, and knowing it is not just a matter of knowing all the items in the territory, but of knowing how they relate to, compare with, and fit in with each other. . . . Why do we talk and write about the world and our knowledge of it as if they were linear? Because that is the nature of talk. Words come out in single file, one at a time; there's no other way to talk or write. So, in order to talk about it, we cut the real, undivided world into little pieces, and make these pieces into strings of talk, like beads on a necklace. But we must not be fooled; these strings of talk are not what the world is like. Our learning is not real, not complete, not accurate, above all not useful, unless we take these word strings and somehow convert them in our minds into a likeness of the world, a working mental model of the universe as we know it. Only when we have made such a model, and when there is a rough correspondence between that model and reality, can it be said that we have learned something.

"What happens in school is that children take in these word strings and store them, undigested, in their minds, so that they can spit them back out on demand. But these words do not change anything, fit with anything, relate to anything. They are as empty of meaning as parrot-speech is to a parrot. How can we make school a place where real learning goes on, and not just word swallowing?"[20]

In the lower grades of Holt's concern teachers can perhaps take reality as given and set themselves the problem of introducing children to useful ways of learning to understand it. The intellectual task of the years of

20. John Holt. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1964, pp. 106ff.

our concern may well be different. Yet, just as the child's knowledge of separate facts in arithmetic or history must reside in an understanding of the larger, general context of the field for the subject to have either use or meaning to him, so these separate disciplines must themselves be brought together, one way or another, into the larger context of life if they are to have use and meaning to late adolescents.

It is not necessary that this integrating occur in a discipline-oriented institution, nor is it easy to bring about. If no "unseen hand" ensures the attainment of this higher good through departmental competition, it is equally probable that, in this increasingly secular society, earnest attempts to teach wisdom directly are doomed. We suspect, indeed, that our problem as educators is not unlike the one we wish to place before our students: how to face an important question for which no single, simple answer can be expected. Perhaps, as in judging literary criticism, one can only observe what sorts of questions institutions ask themselves and what sorts of answers they offer.

Liberal Education in Schools and Colleges

The Four-School Study emerged as already explained out of a set of related concerns of the headmasters. To our committee it seemed that these concerns centered on the general question of whether the inherited structures of secondary and tertiary education, organized around the professional academic disciplines in the traditional academic year, are best designed to serve the educational needs of late adolescents of today and tomorrow. More particularly, the inquiry stemmed from the concerns of the leaders of four independent boarding schools that regard as one of their tasks the preparation of their students for further study. The committee therefore felt themselves called upon to consider the future role of schools like these within the broader, national educational scene from which, and into which, their students come and go. Although the headmasters' original concerns, as set forth in the introduction to this report, were somewhat differently put, the following points do seem in retrospect to sum up their criticisms of the present scene as it relates to the liberal education of American youth.

In the first place, the division of the formal education of adolescents into its two present established parts (secondary school through grade 12, college starting with grade 13) does not seem related to any basic, human need. In fact, it has only a relatively recent history, and little history at all outside the United States. Yet it has become the rigid rule in the United States system, and it allows the student little option in his educational program. While metropolitan school systems experiment with middle schools and high schools of varied, useful lengths, and while universities increasingly confuse the later years of college and the beginning of graduate work, the junction point between school and college remains a national norm. By and large, schools everywhere and for everyone end at grade 12 and colleges all start at grade 13. Two generations ago, when college was a

more specialized experience, which fewer than 10 percent of the age group undertook, such an arbitrary bound could be endured. Yet it seems to have been less definite in that past. Increasing numbers of students and a deliberate move to promotion by age, rather than by curricular progress, have made this bound more rigid precisely when the greater variety of student natures and desires would seem to argue for a range of other routes with other junction points. The time has come to think radically about the adequacy of this universal structure.

Not only the national form, but also its contents, must be reconsidered in light of the new, more general uses to which grades 13 and 14 are being put. As Graham B. Blaine has put it in his recent book, *Youth and the Hazards of Affluence: The High School and College Years*: "Now that America has committed itself to offering high level education to virtually everyone, it is time to find ways to adapt this education to the psychological makeup of the students to whom it is being offered. Educators tend to use criteria in their curricular planning which are applicable to educators, teachers, and scholars. This is understandable but not rational. They must take into consideration the important fact that by temperament students are different."[1] They are different, we should add, not only from their teachers but from each other. Thus we suspect both that formal education, especially in these critical years of late adolescence, must be free to draw upon others than academic scholars as teachers, and also that no single format can be expected to serve all youth.

There are several facets to this problem, and we should be vain men to think that we had seen all of them, or even any of them, clearly. Inherited institutions, like a language, seem so to define both the real and the possible that it is extremely difficult to see how things might be otherwise arranged. Yet many young people who are moving from adolescence into adulthood, especially in these days, do seem to have a distinct set of urgent, honest needs that present educational structures are increasingly unable to satisfy. Although the schools appear adequate for younger adolescents through grades 9 and 10, and the colleges and universities equally so from the junior year beyond, the existing structure seems exceedingly

1. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966, p. 41.

inadequate for that sharply identifiable period of individual growth and transition known as late adolescence.

The earlier years mark the final steps of childhood learning. The various cognitive skills are taught—and taught increasingly well—by professionals to early adolescents who will need these tools, whatever their later careers may be. In the later years of college, as undergraduate studies merge into explicitly preprofessional training, again professionalized instruction seems to work. Indeed, one problem of which we became increasingly aware was the extent to which these two understandably discipline-oriented academic establishments have come to merge in the area of our concern, with the result that teachers of late adolescents, whether in schools or in colleges, seem to regard themselves more as academic trainers than as formative, active models for maturing young adults.

This condition is understandable enough. The training of these instructors has been aimed at the disciplines, not at the age group. It has been aimed at the exercise of the disciplines for the production of knowledge—either personal, for the early adolescent, or social, for research scholars. So, too, these two professionalized groups of discipline-oriented teachers tend to overlook the real differences between the younger and older students in their separate, and separated, four-year units, holding the eleventh and twelfth graders back by styles set for younger adolescents and treating college freshmen and sophomores in manners better fit for graduate students.[2] Thus it was, for instance, that we received repeated testimony from students in their latter years of residential schools that they feel constricted, sat upon, and overtrained and, simultaneously, testimony from similar students in their initial years of college that the studies there seem too specialized and preprofessional and that the faculty seem to consider their private research more important than their institutional teaching and advising. Despite the need of many late adolescents for meaningful relationships with adults other than their parents, professional academicians seem, on the whole, to prefer their subjects to their students. Recent internal studies at The Phillips Exeter Academy and Wesleyan

2. Jencks and Riesman regard this trend at college as a gain. We do not. See Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968, p. 513.

University both show that such relationships with teachers are frequently the most significant part of a student's experience there. Yet most colleges seem to regard these central experiences as accidental and prefer to measure their educational power by faculty publications and credit hours of classroom recitation. Patricia Lund Casserly reports the astonishment of more than one student at discovering that any adult really cared what he thought about his college studies. In more than one case, indeed, she was the first to ask.[3]

To be sure, more than a few college instructors teach undergraduates willingly and well. Yet even they were trained as professional scholars, not as college teachers, and are regarded, often proudly, as local members of their respective international disciplines by the very institutions they try so hard to serve.[4] Similarly, there is an increasing corps of strong, sophisticated teachers in secondary schools, able and willing to engage their students in those more reflective, analytic, and precise studies that can be considered college-level work although done in school. Yet despite such attempts as the College Board's Advanced Placement Program to make the curricular transition from school to college free from duplication and repetition for such students, there is still a relatively poor fit. Patricia Casserly's report suggests that, in many cases, "successful" Advanced Placement candidates simply have the customary two years of repeated work reduced to one.[5] On the whole, the professional scholars at the universities remain unaware of their new colleagues in the schools.

Yet even where college counselors and the Advanced Placement Program have succeeded in putting well-trained college freshmen into the proper curricular slots, there still is much discontent among those so placed. The identification and analysis of this discontent filled much of our year's

---

3. Patricia Lund Casserly, *To See Ourselves As Others See Us.* An evaluation of the Advanced Placement Program by students from 252 secondary schools at 20 colleges. Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1968.

4. Again, this is the revolution of which Jencks and Riesman speak. On this point, see also Nevitt Sanford, ed., *The American College; A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962; Paul Woodring, *The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968; Mervin B. Freedman, *The College Experience.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967.

5. Casserly, *op. cit.*

work. Having brought some sense of student—and, indeed, faculty—dissatisfaction to our study, we swiftly came to sense a still stronger undercurrent and thought our principal problem would be that of convincing our colleagues in colleges and schools of the strong streams of discontent that we had found. By the end of June 1968, however, several university campuses had been the scenes of open student revolts; the administration and faculty of a distinguished boys' school had devoted several days to a conference with its graduating class after a bitter, challenging valedictory address; and several men's colleges in the East had announced plans to establish urban study centers, participate in the education of young women, and thus in many significant ways change themselves from the more pastoral, male retreats they once had been.

That the inherited structures and processes no longer suit a significant number of students is, we therefore think, quite clear. Our inquiry disclosed two main kinds of discontent, one relating to the school-college curriculum and another to the residential school or college as an educational environment. There are probably many more, yet we believe most of them will be found related to the two major categories we propose.

The curriculum, as we have noted several times already, strikes many contemporary students as one designed for incipient scholars: introductory courses are meant to prepare students for what comes next within the discipline; the tools and skills of scholars are the goals; and most important, each discipline seems to operate independently of the others. Thus, at the very time that the late adolescent wishes to relate his maturing self to the entire world around him, he finds both himself and his world diffracted into a jagged spectrum of various scholars' separate skills.

Such a situation is, of course, not completely bad. Scholars seem to do as good a job teaching the young today as the clergy did before, or as engineers or lawyers might do in their stead.[6] The point is that just as the schools were secularized when the clergy's professional impulse no longer served a more general need, so today it may well be that academicians can no longer offer an appropriate education to a still broader generality of students through a range of formal apprenticeships to professional

6. See Jencks and Riesman, *op. cit.*, pp. 508 and 512.

scholars. Indeed, a second point is that so many teachers of late adolescents are not, in fact, practicing scholars at all. They were trained as such and have their Ph.D.s, or, if they do not have them, they took work directed toward them. In any event, they pursued their disciplines in graduate schools designed to train them to be scholars. They cannot help feeling that it is their professional, indeed social, responsibility to put that training to work somehow: by jacking up the undergraduate programs that they teach to include graduate-level work, by engaging in scholarly research with time and energies that could otherwise be devoted to meeting more obvious undergraduate needs, or, vicariously, by identifying, stimulating, and encouraging potential scholars to go on. The fact remains that the teacher of undergraduates has not been trained for what he actually ends up doing in his discipline, nor is he motivated to think of the other disciplines in his students' lives as well. His permanent professional home is in his field; his temporary one, the local department. He regards himself, and is regarded, as a mathematician who happens to be at a certain college, not as a member of that college's faculty who happens to be teaching mathematics. He hopes or dreads that some day he will get back to scholarship.

Sanford questions whether such independent, parallel disciplines necessarily correlate.[7] Woodring has done us the favor of pointing out that, even if they should correlate, it would be impossible for all college teachers to be practicing, publishing scholars.[8] What is needed, it seems to us, is an effective way to free at least some college teachers from this gnawing sense that they were trained and hired to be doing something else. Alternatives to the academic department do exist, of course, at "experimental" colleges and at some larger universities with deliberately organized programs in "general education." But the constant, and in our opinion unresolved, tensions between such local nondepartmental programs and the national academic establishment, and the continued tendency to consider nondepartmental colleges experimental, convince us that solutions to the problem

---

7. Nevitt Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967, p. 23.

8. Woodring, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

will not be found in organization charts. Rather, we believe, they will flow from a new view of the educational needs of late adolescents in a society where they are aware of so much and experience so little. For many such students, we believe, the solution will lie, in part, beyond the present curriculum, rather than within one redesigned.

What is really needed is a clearer, common sense of the educational value of other tentative apprenticeships for young people of this age. The intellectual disciplines are fine for those who like them. The zest with which academically inclined late adolescents approach demanding work goes far, we believe, to explain the continuing growth of the Advanced Placement Program and the strong spirit at the colleges to which such future scholars go. But to say that a rigorous scholar's apprenticeship works for some is not to argue it for all. Quite the contrary, given today's broader ranges both of student backgrounds and of their futures, it is clear that other channels must be found.

It is here that the present universal break between the twelfth and thirteenth grades is particularly unfortunate. There are the obvious torments that many twelfth graders undergo whether applying to selective colleges or planning to attend an element of a state system that uses school grades and test scores to determine student assignment. In any event, the growing tensions before admissions decisions are made known and the complementary vacuum afterwards are common observations at schools like those partaking in this study. We found increasing tendencies, ranging from exploratory talk to real action, toward a dissolution of the formal twelfth grade in the spring, after college admissions are announced. Another possibility being explored is that students devote a year between school and college to one job or a succession of internships. This toughening milieu, we were told, would help such students become more realistic about their further educational plans, preparing them in the fullest sense for the rigors of admission and survival at a modern collversity or multiversity.

Although we sympathize with these concerns, we think more positive solutions can be found and that to chop off part or all of the twelfth grade because of the agonies attendant upon competitive admissions is essentially to drop the caboose in order to avoid rear-end collisions. Likewise, we are persuaded that if off-campus internships are educationally valid for late

adolescents, it is the business of their schools and colleges so to organize themselves as to make them as available and effective as possible. To counsel students to drop out of the system is to admit its limitations. Given the large number of students who do choose to interrupt their formal education between secondary school and college graduation (something like 20 percent at Harvard College), it is clear that many young people are dissatisfied with what happens to them as they pass through the regular system. Thus urging others to consider dropping out would seem to make good sense. Our point is simply that the advantages to be gained from such experiences could better be incorporated into the system than sought outside it. Jobs and internships could be located by the school or college, as is already being done today. The school year could be so scheduled as to make these off-campus experiences freely available at optimal length. This, too, is being done today. The institution would be aware of the student's experiences away and thus able to integrate them with his on-campus studies. This is also being done. Yet none of these advantages can be had if the school or college simply urges him to drop out.

For that reason, while recognizing the considerations that lie behind these moves, we remain persuaded that the pangs of admissions are the cost of student and of institutional choice. Rolling admissions and cooperative admissions procedures may lessen the sting. We may well discover that, as education beyond the twelfth year becomes increasingly universal, anxieties on this issue will diminish. In every country, after all, they tend to center on the pinch-off point in the educational sequence. As our pinch-off point dissolves into a stream of parallel, available educational paths, the pressures at any given juncture will be much less, just as they are today between, say, junior and senior high school.

In another sense, however, the break between the twelfth and thirteenth grades introduces constraints and inefficiencies of which the students are less aware. The massive shuffling of a million and a half students between thousands of secondary schools and hundreds of colleges introduces real problems at the interfaces. Each school wishes its students to be eligible to apply to any college of their reasonable choice, and each college wishes, in turn, to be available to as many qualified students as possible. Thus, as

has been noted in the preceding chapter of this report, college curricular requirements for admission have become rather congruent with what the schools, in general, wish to offer to their students. Similarly, it has not proved difficult to find areas of substantial agreement between school and college specialists on what constitutes "first-year college-level work" for the Advanced Placement Program. These efficiencies, stemming from the professionalization of education at these levels, are clearly gains. Students enjoy a freedom of curricular choice and pace in school and in college afterwards that is unique in the modern world. But the system works only so long as members of both parties stay in line. Or, to put it more accurately, it serves to keep both parties in line. The college that accepts any school's units of English or of mathematics expects that school to be rather like the next, offering each student five courses a year from September into June. Similarly, the school that wishes its students to have a maximal range of college choice will complain if any college establishes an idiosyncratic entrance requirement or matriculation date.

It is hard, in short, for schools to experiment very much with their twelfth grades and for colleges to experiment with their thirteenth. The magnitude of the market makes all producers and consumers look alike to each other, and every party tends to play things safe. This is especially true for the schools. Yet even colleges tend to reserve independent studies and years abroad to their junior and senior years. On the whole, both schools and colleges are conservative around their juncture.

The Advanced Placement Program was designed, at the schools' request, to free them from this bind. It does, but only in the professionalized disciplines, the national nature of which makes the task simultaneously easier and yet incomplete. It is by no means clear that these college-level studies are the only exceptions to the common rule from which exceptional students might profit. The sense of challenge and accomplishment, of working shoulder to shoulder with their teachers to a common purpose, this meaningful ego-activity for which late adolescents thirst—all these advantages of more rigorous studies could accrue to other students along other vectors were it not for the stabilizing nature of the school-college break.

Again, scholars' preconceptions are in the way. They have found a way

to allow stronger, better motivated students to proceed at a more appropriate pace with reasonable chances of some proper reception in that field at college. But there are many other fields of human excellence, and under present circumstances they tend to be suppressed from the curriculum of schools and colleges precisely in those years when they would be most valuable.

We observed, for instance, that schools offering off-campus internships find that their eleventh and twelfth graders profit most. We also noted that freshmen and sophomores at colleges with similar provisions learn most liberally from them. The older students have their eyes on sharper goals, and the younger ones are not old enough to experiment at being adult. But here, precisely in the years of our concern, we are persuaded that both the need and opportunity exist for late adolescents to profit from organized apprenticeships to the adult world. This matter is discussed further in a later chapter of this report, "Some Possible Varieties of Educational Experience." At this point we wish only to propose that such provisions would be congruent both with modern society and with the students' inner drives in a way that is not true of their training in scholarship today. The problem lies in achieving this further congruence, in convincing educators that liberal education is too important to be left solely in the hands of scholars. This will be a difficult task. As Herbert Butterfield has said: "The historian, like other specialists, easily imagines that his own pocket of thinking is the whole universe of thought, and easily assumes a sovereign finality or ascendancy for his own branch of study."[9]

If this is true within the academic world, it is even truer when such a specialist looks out from academia to still more different kinds of valuable human endeavor. Yet with an increasing proportion of late adolescents receiving formal education, it is clear that these other kinds of endeavor will have to receive their proper due. Twice now James B. Conant has made this point: "To my mind, it is desirable for as many boys and girls in high school as possible to have an ultimate vocational goal. It may well be that many of them will change their minds before the high school course

---

9. *Man on His Past; The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1960, p. 18.

is over or in later years. But if a student thinks what he or she is studying in school is likely to have significance in later life, study in question takes on a new importance."[10]

The United States Office of Education, in its proposal for Education Systems for the 1970s, argues that the many students who take a general, academic program in secondary school but do not go on to finish college might profit much more from programs related to their youthful interests and their prospective lives. Such programs, like those in many community colleges, need by no means be terminal. On the contrary, senior colleges, like Richmond College on Staten Island to cite but one, are developing programs to meet the desires of such students for a still more liberal education. The arguments of the U.S. Office of Education, although essentially economic—in pointing out how the present system fails both to educate and train a large number of students for careers and jobs—are parallel to Conant's and to ours. The Office of Education proposes for the sake of the economy that every late adolescent be taught a skill that he can sell. We join Conant in believing that the psychological reason is fully as compelling. Not only is it obvious that an interested, motivated student will learn more—and the basic liberal studies of language, numbers, art, society, and the natural world can be related to many pursuits apart from scholarship—but we are also persuaded that the acquisition and exercise of a set of adult skills is especially important for late teenagers. They wish, as the psychologists propose and as recent events have made clear, to touch their world, to feel that they, too, can build a house, run a machine, or lead a group.

Conversely, we are persuaded that such a deliberate mixture of non-classroom experience with more traditional studies will enrich the lives of those many other students who know the realities of society all too well. We cannot presume to have much insight into their plight. We can only argue that those who have been placed at an educational disadvantage by their backgrounds and surroundings are most in need of the enriching experience of a liberal education. To the extent that they may not go on to

---

10. James B. Conant, *The Comprehensive High School.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967, pp. 62-63, quoting from his earlier, *The American High School Today.*

college, it is necessary that they receive such opportunities while still in school. If these studies must be couched in some other context than that of "college preparation," then we hope they would be presented in those other, appropriate ways. We suspect, however, that such combinations of job apprenticeships plus related liberal studies will not differ in kind from the combinations of liberal studies plus related internships that we propose. For the needs of late adolescents to widen their spirits and to touch the world are much the same whether they are in the suburbs or in the cities. Indeed, Kenneth Wentworth of Sarah Lawrence College, in considering the needs of the students in his Upward Bound Program, had hit upon proposals much like ours for their education in grades 11 through 14.

These concerns are essentially curricular. The schools participating in this inquiry are also representative of another dimension in liberal education: the residential academic community. Indeed, this residential character is perhaps their most striking difference from public education. At first glance, the existence and preservation of such communities at both the school and college levels seem to have considerable value. They exist today and have a strong tradition behind them. They offer both faculty and students a sense of identity and common purpose. They make it possible for the institution to control, and hence enrich, the student's educational experience more fully than if he has to return to a neutral or even antiacademic family every afternoon. They may therefore be thought to make his education not only more efficient but even qualitatively different by removing him from the assumptions of his home. Thus it is, for instance, that Heath attributes many of the most effective elements of a liberal education to the relationships, values, and events to be found in such a community.[11]

We agree. Indeed, however hard-pressed residential schools and colleges may feel today, we expect them increasingly to have the comfort of imitation as growing numbers of late adolescents try their wings outside the family. Their personal needs for such tentative independence may not have figured in plans for "community colleges," but we note rising pressures for dormitory buildings even there, as students continue to try to get away from

---

11. Douglas H. Heath, *Growing Up in College: Liberal Education and Maturity.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1968.

home. In fact, if our analysis is correct that liberal education is most effective in the years of late adolescence, we should expect greater use of such facilities by public systems in grades 11 and 12.

In any event, as Heath points out and our own inquiry made clear, relationships, values, and events can make a residential community an effective instrument for education only if they are congruent with the purposes of the institution and with the needs of the people involved. In this light it seems to us that many present school and college communities provide inadequate environments for liberal growth and learning.

We have spoken of the colleges already: how the professionalization of the disciplines and their monopolistic grip on the curriculum make it hard for an individual faculty member to identify with the college's central purpose and with the students' actual needs. He regards himself as a professional and, at best, worries about the way the students angle for their grades. Under such circumstances it is slight wonder that universities provide other professionals as nonteaching counselors. Someone has to listen to the students talk as people. But the students, we suspect, wish also to talk with their instructors about their learning and their new, expanding lives. Most of them do not wish or need clinicians. Conversely, the faculty would profit from a more vivid, experiential sense of what their students are actually like. Most students, we are convinced, expect such meetings as a part of their liberal education, and many young adults go into college teaching expecting to provide them. Increasingly, however, these elements of liberal learning are being lost as the undergraduate faculty crystalizes around its several disciplines. Indeed, there is a self-catalytic quality to the process, as colleges seek more students, in order to have the larger population bases that will support more specialized courses in the areas of faculty professional concern. Thus it may become easier to attract assistant professors trained to regard themselves as scholars, but it is not clear that either the student or professor is being served. Each learns to play it cool and thinks the other doesn't care. Or things explode, and both unite in castigating an administration they say was keeping them apart.

Within secondary schools we found another set of problems, rather a mirror-reversal of these. If the professionalized college faculty seems to err in having lost its sense of institutional purpose and, therefore, in seeing

undergraduates only from their discipline's point of view, the schools appear to hold onto their older students far too hard, to fail to recognize the essential difference between the large children in their ninth and tenth grades and the young adults, physically mature and eager to test their wings, in grades 11 and 12. Again, as in the curriculum, we find the step from the acquisition of the final childhood skills to protograduate work too quick and short. This is not a plea for schools to mistreat and neglect their older students in order to prepare them for the indifference at college, but rather a considered proposal that the 16- and 17-year-old students of today frequently respond better to being treated as young adults than just as children.

But beyond the tone and manners of the academic community, we found that its traditional bounds do not satisfy contemporary students. They come to school and college to learn about their world, not to escape it. (It is, perhaps, the disadvantaged urban student who most needs a pastoral retreat.) Modern communications, both media and transportation, have brought the world within their reach. Apparently meaningless constraints, therefore, and artificialities will strike them as bizarre, if not as obstructive to learning. The best seek an operating model of social reality, and the schools can seize the opportunity to give it to the others.[12] The manner in which the school is organized, the ways the administration and faculty regard their roles, their colleagues, and their students—these elements all can assist or block the community's effectiveness.

Again here, as in the curriculum, we find the separate professionalized disciplines outweighing the common purpose of the group. The campus, like the student's week, is parceled out among separate entities that rest in uneasy alliance. Where English is regarded as English and mathematics as something else, both the buildings and instructors are distinct; and the students are left to integrate the pieces as best they can. Conversely, we were impressed by deliberate efforts, as at St. John's College, to have the disciplines coexist in classrooms, as they should in educated minds. To exemplify this fact, the faculty there, like the classrooms, must serve more than just one field.

12. Joseph C. Grannis, "The School as a Model of Society." *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin,* Vol. 21, No. 2, Fall 1967, pp. 15-27.

We do not propose St. John's as a national model. Indeed, such an institution derives a real strength through being different from the general norm. Our point is rather the double one that such a campus provides. In the first place, not until the disciplines are placed in context can they have liberal meaning to a late adolescent. Furthermore, a modern residential institution has a rich multiplicity of ways to meet this end. St. John's has its interrelated tactics through which, while forswearing any claims to "relevance," it makes the students' studies come alive. Antioch, Kalamazoo, Earlham, and Beloit offer examples of quite different tactics to meet their different ends. Yet they too, like St. John's, are deliberately using their resources to help students put their skills into context and to work.

There is, of course, an almost continuous range of possible strategies, just as there will be an equally continuous range of types of educational institutions. Correspondence schools, adult classes, community colleges, multiversities will all be enduring parts of the educational scene. But however obsolete its founders' notions may now appear, we are persuaded by what we have seen and read that a residential community can provide distinctive advantages in the liberal education of late adolescents. Having removed them from their homes, it can deploy them in the world. Not, therefore, as a sanctuary but rather as a strategy, it can organize and facilitate their learning in a manner beyond the means of any institution that has to send them home at the end of every day. Day schools can combine their disciplines, organize off-campus workshops, and offer independent study and on-the-job training. Paradoxically enough, only residential institutions can send their students somewhere else. They need only come to view their campuses as bases, not as bounds. As they move in this direction, other barriers will fall. In the summer of 1968 Williams College announced its plans for coeducation simultaneously with those for an inner-urban center, and we expect many other colleges to become fuller models of social reality.

We regard such models as distinct advantages. It is clear from what we heard throughout our year that students sense a lack of such a model at many schools and colleges. This is especially true with regard to the present revolution in the cities. For residential schools and colleges to cut their students off from these pressing social facts would be as shortsighted as for them to be without science laboratories or foreign language courses. In-

deed, it would be more so, for the students will live in America, and predictably in or near American cities, in a way that they will not live in chemistry or French. We are persuaded that students feel this, and thus their turbulence cannot be dismissed as stemming simply from conspiracy, spring fever, or juvenile revolt.

The four schools of this study, and all independent boarding schools in general, despite their traditional desire to train the leadership "elite" in American society, and despite the unique opportunities and challenges their programs offer, are coming to serve an even smaller proportion of American youth. In 1967 there were, as best we could determine, 102 private boys' boarding schools in the United States, serving about 28,000 students, a fraction of 1 percent of the national male high school population. (A parallel decline in the proportion of the nation's undergraduates enrolled at private, residential colleges is under way. While we believe that much of what we say about the schools holds for the colleges as well, we content ourselves here with addressing the former only. For it was four schools that asked us to suggest how best to change.)

While much of this limited enrollment can be explained by deliberate policies of these schools, and much of the rest by the higher costs today of founding new ones, and while demand for admission to these schools is very strong, such demand is not increasing in a manner proportionate to the country's increasing population. On the contrary, it seems to be leveling off and may be at the point of incipient decline. The recent leveling off of the quality of applicants may be another warning in the wind. All this is happening in a meritocracy where parents are reputedly obsessed with obtaining the best education for their children. They are demanding and getting increasingly good professionalized education from their suburbs and their states. They sense little need and have inherited no inclination to send their children away to school. If under such circumstances independent institutions do not use their freedom to find and organize distinctive, challenging educational possibilities, they will have to content themselves with serving those students who cannot stand the public pace.

Furthermore, the economics of education may soon begin to squeeze those private schools with no substantial endowments out of existence. While the demand begins to slacken, the costs keep going up. Even the few

truly wealthy schools, whose endowments will tend to rise with these costs, face a future of diminished impact if their cousin institutions set an example of collapse. By the time that there are 10 boys' boarding schools left, people will have stopped thinking of them at all. Already the wealthiest schools find themselves unable to compete with some public systems in terms of faculty salaries, physical facilities, and breadth of programs. Given present trends, they will not be able to compete successfully in the future.

These concerns and trends suggest that the future of such schools lies not just in further fund-raising campaigns, not just in competing for staff through higher salaries and better housing, not just in providing better physical plants, not just in mounting more effective recruiting programs for obtaining strong students, not just in developing better rapport with college admissions staffs, not just in better guidance, not just in still more demanding curriculums. In sum, the future of these schools seems not to lie in just doing better and more of what they have already been doing through the last decades. The public schools have learned to do it too and are receiving massive moneys for the task. We all are beneficiaries of this momentous surge in American secondary education. But this same advance appears destined to drive the independent schools to new endeavors or else oblivion.

We are persuaded that the traditions, desires, and resources of these schools can still produce peculiarly valuable and viable educational opportunities for modern youth. The answer, we believe, lies in the schools' willingness to do things perhaps more radically different, yet equally radically relevant to the present student as a young adult today. In the following chapters of this report we offer some new modes and models that we think truly independent schools could find of practical use.

We have asked ourselves and others a series of questions, ranging from the grand strategy of liberal education to the simpler tactics of organizing time. We think that we identified five useful areas of concern and that we have arrived at some practical proposals for dealing with each, in sum or separately. There is nothing cosmic about our questions, nor exhaustive about our suggestions. Other committees would probably have arrived at other conclusions. But, as our inquiry progressed, we were interested to note that each of our proposals—and initially some were only hypotheses—was already being put to actual use. At the same time we became increas-

ingly aware that we had only begun to scratch the surface of a deep and complex problem. For all we know, the real answers are not suggested in our report.

The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910-1911) contains an extensive article, complete with diagrams and formulas, on "Flight and Flying." This article is devoted to aircraft whose wings were shaped, and moved, like those of birds. Our committee, on the other hand, gathered every week by jets. So it is rather obvious that the future is opaque. Yet this same edition, in its charming article on "Malta," offers a proposition we think holds true today, and we therefore offer it to those who share our schools' concerns: "that educational institutions exist for the rising generation rather than to provide salaries for alien teachers and men behind the times."

2 Four Specific Propositions

The Academic Program of a Liberal Institution

Perhaps we could better have begun our proposals with a description of the educational community we have in mind. The four schools that participated in this study are residential, so that their curriculums are part of larger institutional environments. But liberal learning need not be residential, and there are many other kinds of organized communities in life. Our purposes will therefore be clearer if we first lay out our more sharply academic aims and then discuss some of the ways a liberal institution might be organized to meet them. Again, our central proposition is that the curriculum—or, more broadly put, the institution's formal learning program—should be the result, not the precondition, of the institution's plans. It is in this context that we offer our observations on liberal education in grades 11 through 14.

A segment of a person's life and education cannot, of course, be treated without reference to the bases on which it builds and the later life and learning for which it seeks to prepare the student. Nor can it be separated from the society in which his education is taking place and his life will then be lived. Again, in Solon T. Kimball's useful phrase, the problem is to conceive and mount systems of education that are simultaneously congruent with society's needs, the students' desires, and the educators' senses of their roles.[1]

It seems to us that the total education of an American man or woman in the latter part of the twentieth century will never be complete. (By "American," we mean no more than membership in a pluralistic, economically developed, democratic society. We are not training people for a state, but seek rather to assist them in becoming fuller citizens of the state such peo-

1. "Culture, Class, and Educational Congruency," in Stanley Elam and William P. McLure, eds., *Educational Requirements for the 1970's; An Interdisciplinary Approach.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967, pp. 6-26.

ple build.) In this sense, therefore, the formal education of young people will have as its central core the fostering of those skills and attitudes that will make later learning more likely and more meaningful. At the same time, paradoxically, their education as late adolescents will have to include at every step experiences that are ends rather than means, experiences that offer them a sense of the wholeness of life, or of experience, or of themselves. Fourteen long grades of finger-exercises, followed by preprofessional training, offer little satisfaction to the student's thirst for occasional melody.

Every teacher knows this much. Indeed, no "preparatory" course serves well as such a means unless it strikes the students, at the same time, as an interesting end in itself. Conversely, an educational experience valuable in its own right will clearly be one through which the student grows in power or understanding and thus has "prepared" himself for something else. Our questioning, therefore, of the increasingly professionalized scholars' curriculums for late adolescents does not derive from a sense that learning should lead no further. On the contrary, we believe that the sense of where all this learning is leading is central to the functioning of both students and of teachers. We observe that the senses of young adolescents and their teachers are no longer congruent. We think that this is not a fruitful tension, and that a new, more useful congruence or tension can be achieved.

This readiness or real thirst for further learning will be required by increasingly rapid technological changes at the same time that it is made possible by the affluence they bring. Just as the more stable, traditional society yielded to the increasingly sharply differentiated tasks of medieval and then industrial man, these latter specialties, once set for life, are now yielding to a rapidly shifting array of transitory skills. If the nineteenth-century factory town, with its permanent, distinctive roles and life-styles can be likened to the educational institutions and curriculums it evolved, then the contemporary and immediately future model is the computer, which needs only to be rewired to accomplish other tasks. As anyone who has looked behind the control panel knows, this flexibility is not simple to achieve. On the contrary, it requires sophisticated preparation. It is our belief that the increasingly technical, affluent society of tomorrow—indeed, already of today—requires a richer general education of its citizens in order that they may later train themselves for shifting, specific tasks. This spe-

cific instruction is already under way. Thousands of young people who "drop out" of the present system, by failing to attain to scholars' goals, are being trained by industry or the military for jobs of a predictably temporary nature. We expect this situation to persist and grow as formal education becomes more generalized at the same time that economic tasks become more specific, unpredictable, and short-lived.

Under these circumstances, we propose that people's formal education will consist of the following: basic skills and capacities in communications; a basic knowledge—and a sense of the nature of other people's knowledge—of facts and processes in the natural sciences, social studies, and the arts; the specialized knowledge of at least one discipline, profession, or craft preparatory to an apprenticeship or internship in one's initial work and to continuing self-education for all of life. After this kind of formal education, we hope that a person would have the capacity to think responsibly in many fields, to analyze and synthesize, to take given propositions apart and to put together new ones. We hope that this same person will have arrived at a set of reasoned, mature convictions in such realms as religion, art, and music that will serve as the basis for judgments and for actions in practical life. We hope, in short, that such a person would stand for something and be ready for anything. Practical and sensitive, he will have a clear enough sense of himself to provide a fruitful base for the specific trainings and retrainings he will require in later life.

None of this is very novel. By basic skills and capacities in communication we understand an ability to use one's native language, in written and in oral form, deliberately and well; to have an appreciation of such uses by others; and to have a reasonably sophisticated sense, too, of the nature and uses of language as a social institution. To this latter end we earnestly recommend the study of a foreign language to that point of immediate comprehension where it becomes convincingly clear that the world does not exist in English. We are persuaded that such an experience, combined with organized investigations of linguistics would do much to make a person more fully aware of the powers of verbal symbolization he possesses.

In mathematics what is valuable is not the ability to solve problems, but rather the realization that different ways exist to organize quantitative data into meaningful relationships. Thus we hope that general training in geom-

etry and algebra would be followed by a broadening experience in function theory and elementary calculus, followed by some probability and statistics, or modern algebra. Again, the most important goal is to help young people realize that these symbolic skills are tools that their active selves can put to work, not simply subjects on which textbooks have been written.

We realize that our words may sound as though we have no respect for the independent disciplines, through which authoritarian dogma was challenged and replaced by reasoned, if tentative, belief. Not so at all. We do not propose a program of flighty adjustment to student impulses and transitory needs. Our point is that many of the disciplines as now conceived and taught have little relevance to the learner and thus, in the most rigorous terms, are inefficient. Conceived as initial steps on journeys most students never complete, they probably even discourage many potential members of the discipline along the way. More than once in the course of our inquiry, for instance, we learned that collversities had experienced a drop in undergraduate majors in those very fields in which they had established doctoral programs. We return to this point in succeeding chapters of this report. Here we wish only to propose that increasingly, as ultimate adult pursuits become more transitory and specific, the formal education of late adolescents will necessarily become more general and diffuse.

The archetypes of general, practical knowledge are, of course, symbolic systems. We are arguing for a sophisticated self-consciousness about their use and a mastery of their real meaning. As John Holt has said: ". . . the only way children can learn to get meaning out of symbols, to turn other people's symbols into a kind of reality or mental model of reality, is by learning first to turn their own reality into symbols. They have to make the journey from reality to symbol many times, before they are ready to go the other way."[2]

For a teacher to assume or state that his students must take on faith the relevance of his teaching is, we believe, to jeopardize his efforts gravely. A formal sequence of teaching may well strike students without preprofessional commitments as beside the point. It may also sacrifice real gains that could be made—including conversions to the instructor's discipline—if the

2. John Holt, *How Children Learn.* New York: Pitman Publishing Corp., 1967, p. 181.

learning were directed at what the students are and will predictably become, rather than at what the teacher already knows.[3]

Our concern for a person's knowledge of basic facts and processes in the natural sciences, social studies, and the various forms of art is not to be taken as a plea for a course or two in each in school and college. Rather we propose that, between their focused acquisition of general skills and their similarly objective training for initial careers, young people receive a general education in forms of thought and knowledge. Such a general, generalizing program would not have erudition as its aim, nor simply well-read amateurs as its predictable by-products. It would offer a liberal, liberating experience to people old enough to think and feel in sophisticated ways and yet young enough to do this in a tentative, uncommitted manner.

In America this almost playful, and certainly joyous, discovery of the potentialities of man and his world has become the province of grades 11 through 14. Having completed Jean Piaget's final stage of childhood, students can think about thinking and thus philosophize. Similarly, arriving at the late-adolescent synthesis of their personalities, they can regard the visual arts as more than reproduction and music as more than ordered sound. As in their reading of literature, they become aware of purposeful artists behind the works that they regard. At the same time, in a condition of mutual cause and effect, they can cultivate a sense of style and purpose in themselves. They come to realize that scientific truth is the world described by present hypotheses, and thus, just as they grow through their interacting senses of deliberate artist and thoughtful perceiver, they gain an enduring, enriching sense that reality is both ineluctable and unknown. In the social sciences they can learn to see their society and culture in the same more tentative and complicated way, distinguishing "history" from what historians have written and the condition of man from that of their home town.

The several worlds of man are of course mirrored in every school and

---

3. For a good discussion of the influence of graduate school training and of departmental structures on undergraduate teaching, see Nevitt Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967, pp. 89-99.

4. See Alan R. Blackmer et al., *General Education in School and College.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.

college curriculum.[4] Our point is simply that these investigations of man as artist, experimenter, and reporter, maker and user of symbols, are increasingly at home in the latter years of secondary school and the early ones of college. This we regard as a signal and positive gain. These are the years of a student's sophisticated, yet uncommitted, view of the world. Such studies at such a time are at once harmonious with the student's psychological needs, his academic training, and the sort of life that he will later lead. The problem is to shape educational structures that lead most naturally and effectively to those ends. The deployment of teachers, their organization and sense of purpose, must be harmonious as well.

Harboring the inherited union of grades 11 and 12 with those of late childhood, schools often regard such philosophic studies as "college-level" work and thus out of place in something called a school. This devotion to the careful, sequential teaching of a constrained set of traditional subjects can easily pass for sturdy grounding in fundamentals, but it can also result in the same sort of overorganized, teacher-oriented program that many late adolescents meet at college. The efforts of discipline-oriented specialists in both schools and universities are similar and can easily overlap, often with little of the sense of "college" work about them wherever they occur. Such sequential disciplines do exist. They are mounted, taught, and learned in this overlapping way in stronger schools and in the colleges. We urge that schools and colleges be aware that they are partners in a common endeavor. We urge further that they take all appropriate steps to make a fruitful curricular articulation of the common disciplines not only possible, but even likely. For the schools, this will mean attention to what colleges in general offer next in every field; to colleges, this will mean a careful objective honoring of what the schools have already done.

The College Board's Advanced Placement Program was established to meet these needs. To that extent it seems to work when put to use. But it is not always true that the abler or more interested student should study next in school what a generality of professors would offer him next in college. He might not be all that interested in their field. Yet even in this event, the Advanced Placement Program at least warns his school what studies to omit, in order that repetition may be avoided in a negative way.

Independent study may have a maturing, strengthening effect upon the student's self-sufficiency and self-esteem that far outweighs deficiencies in the raw amount of information or scholar's skill acquired. It is not at all clear that erudition is the proper purpose of such efforts. They appear, rather, to give students a sense of active, creative participation simultaneously in their world and in their learning. The individual work and tutorial readings that mark properly advanced studies for stronger students in small schools can often furnish this important element in their lives. But by this same token, paradoxically enough, the more rigorous demands of advanced courses in highly selective or large schools may well strike the students affected as constituting another, rather ordinary course. Whatever the optimal relationship of the sizes of frogs and ponds, it is our belief that many tadpoles can profit well from feelings of independence. Schools whose regular courses in the eleventh and twelfth grades are equivalent to college-level work will have to take special pains to devise yet other ways to give their students that sense of confidence and self-esteem that comes from electing and completing a task valued by others and oneself. Such experiences may well be found to lie outside the classroom.

Another problem for which the Advanced Placement Program provides no answer is that of multidisciplinary work. Professional academicians seem able to communicate from institution to institution only through their professional societies. These communications define the disciplines. Thus there are organizations and journals, conventions and degrees, for mathematicians, historians, or chemists, but not for those who mount multidisciplinary courses at similar sorts of schools or colleges. Stirrings in this direction have been present for some time in general education and are audible today in the humanities. But any inspection of these movements—whose educational value we wish most emphatically to state—shows that the problems of local definition are so great that few interinstitutional generalizations can be made. Thus there is not a national, professional understanding of "Introduction to the Arts" or "Western Civilization" in the way that there is, for instance, of "Introductory Calculus" or "Intermediate French." Until such national syntheses occur (it is not at all clear that such syntheses would represent a gain) it will be difficult for the Advanced Placement Program to include multidisciplinary work. But things could be worse. If these courses were to seem a standard part of the educational landscape to the

students and teachers involved we are convinced that they would lose much of their present value.

There are some things, after all, that cannot be dissected, preserved, and carried from place to place. This is particularly true of the liveliness and sense of engagement with his studies and, through them, with his world that we think should mark the education of a late adolescent. Problems of articulation will predictably occur as schools as well as colleges enlarge upon present, promising efforts in these domains. As with independent studies, the educational fruits of such excursions probably outweight the costs of possible repetition in students' lives. Yet these costs remain, and they must be kept in mind in analyzing the structure of the larger educational system.

As we said before, school and colleges seem to be kept most stiff around their interfaces, to the detriment of the young people whose education requires a sense of exploration precisely in these years. They often get precollege drill at school, especially at a "preparatory school," if only so that the school will be seen by the parents to be going through the proper motions. At college they tend to get extensive, introductory courses in a range of possible major fields, organized according to these separate departmental plans. Ordinarily it is not until the junior or senior year there that they will be able to make a case for independent work or study abroad. Yet oddly enough we suspect that those later years of young adulthood could better be devoted to more explicitly precareer studies, while the earlier ones of late adolescence could better have been spent in ranging free. Again, we keep finding that the edges of institutions are misplaced.

We did find some schools willing to induce disorder in their upper years, establishing internships in governmental offices or turning students free to learn elsewhere. We also found colleges that had opened their early years to similar possibilities. We wish to encourage such endeavors in the years of our concern.

We have spoken already of the colleges in the Middle West that have regular provisions for such off-campus experiences. Another form of useful change of pace is afforded by the freshman seminars at Harvard and Stanford. Here, consistent with our analysis, shorter explorations of real problems, performed shoulder-to-shoulder with a professor, have provided a fruitful alternative to the longer introductions to something else.

The titles of these seminars would be a curricular consultant's despair.

They appear random, ad hoc, messy. They do not seem to be leading the student anywhere. But the fact remains that they work. We believe that they work precisely because they offer students a sense of real investigation. Students place their powers of analysis and synthesis, their knowledge of relevant facts, their invention and use of symbols into that larger context of reality in which and from which they finally come alive. The students become involved as people, not as collections of departmental abstractions and skills. Conversely, we discovered, those seminars which do not establish and maintain their own validity as ends in themselves quickly lose their attractiveness to youth.

None of these various considerations has an absolute value that outweighs the others. It is all too clear that the liberal education of late adolescents involves independent and even somewhat contradictory aims. The problem each liberal institution faces is to rank these aims and then so to arrange itself as to achieve them best. The student, not the faculty's disciplines, must be the guide by which these aims are set.

There is an obvious obligation to ensure the student's command of basic communication skills and general factual knowledge. We therefore expect liberal institutions to provide instruction in fields like English and mathematics, social studies, the sciences, and arts. Beyond this instruction, or beneath it, the student should be given a sense of what it means to "know" something in these different types of fields. Such a general understanding provides the firm matrix for further facts; without it, later learning will have little meaning. Besides this general acquaintance with examples of the principal modes of human knowledge, there should be conveyed a sense of the wholeness of life and of man's knowledge of it. As we argued earlier, it is only in such a still more general context, especially for late adolescents, that the several ways of thinking come alive. In this critical period, between his acquisition of the basic skills of thought and exposition on the one hand and his explicit preparation for a first career on the other, he should not be presented with a set of isolated bases but with the opportunity to relate his liberal studies with each other, with himself, and with his world.

Such a strategy would require significant structural changes in present institutions. The entire academic community might well have to be put into different forms; the student's educational program might no longer consist

exclusively of formal, classroom "courses"; and the schedule of the year, the week, even the day might well be changed. These aspects are treated in succeeding chapters of this report. Here we wish only to sketch out those changes in the organization of the faculty and of the curriculum that we regard as necessary for the liberal education of today's late adolescents.

In the first place, we propose that topic-oriented, multidisciplinary courses be made available in the later years of secondary school and the early years of college. Such studies can provide the broad base for later, disciplinary abstractions and at the same time bring home to the student a sense of the moral link between what he is studying in the classroom and what exists around him. Ecology is a good example. Similar courses in philosophy and the arts can enrich the students' perceptions of mankind, their cultural heritage, and themselves. Another such study might prefer to bring various tools of analysis to bear upon a particular culture, or upon a set of cultures linked in space or time. Another approach, which is proving quite successful, concerns itself with more contemporary themes such as "twentieth-century man" or "American culture."

We propose that such studies, however much they may offend those who are discipline-oriented because they seek answers instead of teaching methods, can enrich not only the student's own concept of himself and others, but also his understanding of the nature and relationships of his other courses. We realize that this deliberate seeking out of meaty, controversial, present issues or of value-laden questions from the past is contrary to much of the present academic professional style. We teachers have withdrawn from facing issues to teach objective techniques, instead. Some students, content to be academic novices, are glad to join us. But increasingly there are others who are less willing to make this voluntary suspension of care about "the interesting, relevant, and humanistic."[5]

Such courses already exist in the latter years of many schools and the early years of many colleges. Their purposes are also attained, in these same years, by study-travel at such institutions as the Friends World Institute or through other kinds of off-campus experiences, such as those

---

5. Robert J. Keefe, *A Humanistic Approach to Contemporary American Culture.* Ipswich (Mass.) Public Schools. Mimeographed. p. 4.

planned at Old Westbury. They may take the form of seminars involving all the students or all the seniors of a school, or all the freshmen or all the students of a college. In any event, all such programs are characterized by a decision to interrupt the academic professional's drive to recreate himself and to ask him, instead, to regard his discipline no longer as an end but as a means.

The present academic department seems somewhat ill-suited for this purpose. Its natural tendencies, as Sanford and Woodring have made clear, are, like those of a marine worm on a coral reef, to seek out a place in which to recreate itself in reasonable peace with its neighbors.[6] College teachers are alone among modern experts in being trained not to practice their professions, but rather to teach others to be like themselves. They have been taught how to teach would-be teachers, and thus it is little wonder that they try whenever given the chance. These tendencies keep the departments vigorous and useful in graduate schools, where history and economics are entities as real as medicine or the law. But for younger, less committed adolescents, the disciplines are mental tools, not life careers. In the course of our inquiry, we have become convinced that, for the education of young people in their late teens, the discipline-oriented departments offer limited use and even some obstruction. We shall have to create a new sort of structure in their stead, and with it a new sort of teacher.

If all our lawyers had been trained to teach future lawyers instead of to assist clients, or if physicians had been trained to execute public health research instead of to treat patients, one would think this a situation that must be improved. Yet the training of college teachers is directed not at their predictable future tasks, but rather on the supposition that they, too, will become professors in graduate schools. They might, of course. For the present system is built upon the confusion of college and graduate school teaching and thus conduces to it all the more. But the training will not change until different professional tasks become defined and are accepted as serious.

We propose that a significant part of the formal studies in grades 11 through 14 be staffed by teachers organized in multidisciplinary, ad hoc

---

6. Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail, op. cit.*, pp. 89-101, 169 *et passim*; Paul Woodring, *The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968.

task forces and, further, that people other than professional academicians be included among the teachers, formal or otherwise, of these late adolescents.

This latter proposition, which Jencks and Riesman also offer, might well be realized most effectively outside the classroom.[7] For it is through assisting such a range of professionals as apprentices that the young people will grow and learn, just as many already profit from helping the scholar-teacher with his research. This close relationship with adults at serious work is, we are convinced, a powerful aid to the education of late teenagers. We see several arguments against its being restricted to the college laboratory and research library. We discuss some broader possibilities in the succeeding chapters of this report.

The former proposition—that in the years of our consideration the traditional departments be supplemented or replaced by multidisciplinary task forces—complements the other. We wish to involve other than professional academicians, and we wish to organize professional academicians in other than their disciplinary forms. The purpose, we trust, is clear: so to orient the staff and mount a program that the student and his needs, rather than the academician's love for his field, become the motivating focus of the studies. This kind of organization would not simply involve a gathering of existing departments and their staffs into larger federations, with fewer chairmen thus reporting to a dean. It would involve the establishment of new centers—perhaps quite shifting, impermanent centers—of faculty loyalty, power, and interest.

Multidisciplinary task forces are now hammering out local definitions and examples of such humanistic studies for students in their late teens. These efforts offer examples of what we have in mind. The group at Ipswich, for instance, from whose report we quoted just above, "consisted of four teachers (in English, history, music, and art) and a coordinator."[8] Their experience is representative, we believe, of the special purposes of such task forces, of the problems that they face, and of the context into which these problems must be put:

"The first, and by far the most difficult, task was to agree on a working

---

7. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968, p. 508.

8. Keefe, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

definition of humanistic. . . . We agreed that our program would focus on man, his sense of values, and his sense of value in our own American culture. We recognize then, and do now, the limitations of this definition, but as the course has progressed . . . we have found almost everything that evolves directly from the above definition has been successful; whereas almost every attempt to bring in extraneous concepts (be they literary, historical or artistic) has failed. . . . Most of the time the issue is the same—some one of the teachers gets involved in a chronological or historical aspect of his discipline which, although relevant and necessary to someone majoring in that area, is irrelevant and unnecessary from the student's and even from the humanistic point of view. . . . The trauma of acknowledging that one's chosen discipline may not be as important as the goals of an interdisciplinary program is a serious one."[9]

The committee is convinced that in the years ahead the overcoming of this trauma will be the central problem in organizing the education of late adolescents.

---

9. Keefe, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

The Liberal Academic Community

In America today there are literally hundreds of residential secondary schools and colleges. At the best, these institutions utilize the opportunities that they enjoy as academic communities to complement their curriculums with relationships, processes, and styles that may well contribute more to the students' liberal education than do their more formal studies.[1] At the worst, they regard their dormitories as barracks in which they house those students who cannot commute from home. We use the term "at worst" because, in the course of an inquiry that saw many of our basic notions change, the committee not only remained convinced that the residential academic community still has real value, but came indeed to see new uses—verging on necessities—for it in the lives of young people in their late teens.

Granting that all growth is continuous and evolutionary, the committee found increasing evidence that some residential communities are peculiarly appropriate to the educational needs of these late adolescents at the same time that communities with other styles, directed at other ages' needs, can be fruitless, if not even worse. For instance, the school that also houses children in the middle teens and younger will tend toward an institutional set of habits and expectations based upon these younger students' needs. Thus, while these younger students may find the school a stretching, maturing place where they are treated more like "grown-ups" than they are when they are at home, the older students tend to feel held back and treated less like adults than they may be in other places. Such students may, for

1. On the tendency of candidates for college admission to apply to colleges of similar style, see Dean K. Whitla, "Candidate Overlap Studies and Other Admissions Research," in *College Admissions Policies for the 1970s.* New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1968, p. 156. On the importance of total college environment, see Douglas H. Heath, *Growing Up in College: Liberal Education and Maturity.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1968; and Nevitt Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967, pp. 166-174 *et passim.*

instance, spend their summers as camp counselors or social workers or as solitary travelers, only to return to a routine designed to keep 14-year-olds at bay.

Conversely, at universities, where the accent is on preprofessional training, freshmen and sophomores are increasingly expected to elect the preprofessional programs and the ways of young adults. Thus, if their psychological age is underestimated at many schools, it appears to be overestimated at universities. Universities are increasingly staffed by the new professional academicians who wish only to be left alone to pursue their personal "things" and who, out of the best of intentions, think that they serve their students best by leaving them alone to follow theirs. Subjected to the same sort of Gresham's law in their environments as in their curricular programs, late adolescents are treated too much like children while in school and too much like adults at college.

At school they are harbored from the world and are trained in order that they may be able to comprehend it; at college they are presumed to know the world, their elected places in it, and how to play the game of life for keeps. At school they led lives separate from adults; at college, they are thrust into the world, expected to take care of themselves. If at school the rules on smoking and drinking were legalistic and hypocritical, at college the habits tolerated by the community can be lethal. At the one place the students were worried about too much, while at the other one nobody seems to care.

We suspect that these reactions reflect more than just the pangs of growing up. To us they are astonishingly similar to the students' feelings that at school their curriculum underestimated their ability to think about the real world, while at college it overestimated their commitment to specific fields or adult careers. In both instances we think we have identified a reasonably homogeneous group, aged roughly 16 to 20, whose needs for an intellectual and psychological moratorium, during which to play at being adult, are somewhat different from what professional academicians, whether in school or college, can satisfy with training in cognitive skills. For a number of parallel reasons it seems that the experiences once provided by the undergraduate college are now also forced upon the later years of school, even as precareer training and more adult orientation are

encroaching on the undergraduate years. Swifter physical maturation, improved curriculums and methods of instruction in the lower grades, the travel and cultural sophistication that come with affluence, the inescapable ubiquity of modern media—all these influences are bringing the maturational state formerly linked with college years down into the schools. Yet at the same time, the increasing crystallization of the academic profession, both at school and at college, around the several disciplines is leaving these young people literally with no one to talk to and with no one who will listen to them.

We believe that late adolescents have a special need for a community separate from their families in which to pass these years. For these are the years of self-discovery, of the development of a sense of unique identity, and of an imaginative awareness of one's capabilities and limitations. As we said before, these demonstrably are the years of highest student interest in and profit from those multidisciplinary studies that tell them of their world and of themselves. As also noted, they seem to be the optimal years for tentative apprenticeships with working adults. We find too that these are the years when young people need to be members of a community that is larger and cooler than the family but smaller and warmer than the world.

Thus we think that students in the later years of school or the early ones of college have a psychological need for some community to belong to, almost any community, and an educational need for a special sort of group. Young people of the late teens require an authority image that they know respects them and that they, in turn, can seek out freely, talk with, and respect. Such a surrogate uncle, working in a world still open to the students' tentative demands, would provide a uniquely valuable, informing presence in such a community. We met such people in our inquiry. We found them both at colleges and schools. More important, we found them in academic communities congruent with their qualities and purpose. Vigorous, self-confident, and warm, they radiate a sense of being at home in a world of which they are skeptical, too. Sensitive and practical, they strike their student companions as being parties of no external establishment nor as irrelevant fugitives from real life. We do not wish to embarrass these peculiarly effective educators of late adolescents by naming them

here, but we do wish to dwell for a moment on the environments in which they seem to thrive.

In the first place, it was clear that these teachers were in situations where they felt important, respected, and needed. They could not distinguish between their callings and their daily tasks. They did not feel put upon by students nor exploited by their institutions for this willingness on their part. It was clear to all concerned that this care for the intellectual and social maturation of the students was the purpose of the institution and its staff. The students had objective, relevant, real-life tasks to perform, not exclusively problem-solving classes and the development of skills. They were doing work that seemed to matter in the company of caring but non-threatening adults. In association with these teachers, the students enjoyed an atmosphere conducive to responsible moral decisions while at the same time being granted a psychosocial moratorium for experimenting in life styles and possible careers—for playing at being adult. The atmosphere was definitely, and deliberately, one in which the student's uncertainty and temporary uncommitment were met sympathetically by caring and competent adults. The young people had respect for their teachers' maturity, example, and judgment; the teachers had respect for their jobs and for the students; and a firm sense of mutual tolerance and self-respect, of community and self, pervaded the scene.

Several of these institutions had Quaker backgrounds; others derived their styles deliberately but less directly from the Society of Friends. Others had different origins, and some were public. But there was something of the Quakers about many of these other groups as well. It was clear, through meaningfully shared processes and events, that every member of such communities felt needed for its enterprises and that no one felt redundant.[2] These struck us, in short, as true communities, in which each member sensed a moral responsibility for the welfare and growth of the others. Often so little a thing as the easy, mutual use of first names made these feelings clear. No one was taking refuge behind his official role, nor

---

2. These terms are from Roger Barker and Paul Gump, *Big School, Small School.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964, p. 202.

behind those of others. Nor was anyone pretending that the community's problems had been solved and codified. There was, instead, a constant tension between individuals' needs for freedom and their need, too, for community order.

We found this experienced tension particularly appropriate to the education of late adolescents. It seems to help them to avoid those extreme conditions, of either anarchy or passivity, that can paralyze the self.[3] It relieved them, for instance, of that morbid preoccupation with defying all rules that can deaden the lives of older boys in school. They also seemed free of the apathy and vulnerability to the culture of their peers that sensed adult indifference can so easily generate in the early years of college. Nor did we observe that withdrawn, abject dependence on the decision-making of others that so often marks those who seek to identify with a faculty that declines to identify with them.

Again, a feeling of wholeness was apparent: the community related meaningfully to all the student's experiences there; the student sensed, in a reciprocal way, that he and all the others had meaning to the group; and the institution, as a whole, seemed to have a similar representative and meaningful relationship to the larger real world. All these characteristics struck us as providing valuable, almost essential, elements of the institution's plans. As such, they cannot be underestimated as instruments for the liberal education of late adolescents. Or rather, they can all too easily be underestimated or completely overlooked by those who have their eyes on other goals.

In most boarding schools, for instance, the older students are given only limited responsibilities within rather modest, definite limits. The traditional union of these late adolescents with younger students forces the institution's attitudes and rules appropriate for the latter upon the older group. On the other hand, schools that deliberately offer more maturing experiences to their late adolescents find that radically different tactics are needed for ninth and tenth graders, if indeed they wish to have them in

---

3. Again, on the social context of late adolescent liberal education, see Heath, *op. cit.*, and Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail, op. cit.*, pp. 166-174.

their programs. The committee, having a prejudice only in favor of purposeful congruence, welcomes this making of distinctions when distinctions should be made and urges schools to consider the creation of radically different, more participatory environments and relationships for students in their upper years.

Similarly, the protective and benevolently paternalistic attitudes of many schoolmasters see the edges of the school campus as the boundary within which each student is to fulfill himself. Thus there is, at best, only a limited involvement of the school with the town or neighborhood in which it is located. Much of this psychic isolation derives, of course, from the genteel tradition, and much of it is disappearing as the schools seek more representative and socially aware student bodies. Yet on balance we think it fair to say that, in the students' eyes, most boarding schools, particularly the stronger ones, do not relate meaningfully to the communities in which they seem only accidentally to be placed. They may well have been placed only by accident, but the same can be said for the cosmos. To the students, especially the older students increasingly mindful of the larger world outside, the faculty's loyalty and allegiance to the inherited, separatistic traditions of the school may seem rather silly. When these feelings lead the faculty to make jealous claim to the student's total time and attention, they may come to appear truly bizarre.

This is not to say that 14-year-olds should be allowed to walk the streets of every city after dark. Nor is it to argue that schools should divest themselves of a sense of identity and mission. Quite the contrary, it is to propose that students in their later teens can profit strongly from a sense of participatory membership in a community that is itself effectively related to the larger world.

Apart from the schools' twin traditions of deliberate isolation and of paternalistic rules, another inherited tendency that seems to keep getting in their way is a persistent sense of responsibility for college placement. In the preceding section we discussed the way in which this feeling and, indeed, the facts of curricular articulation tend to keep schools' programs conservative and stiff in their upper years. Here we wish to add a consideration of the more general social implications of this same phenomenon. To

the extent that independent schools continue to regard themselves and to display themselves as "preparatory" institutions, they appear reluctant to release students from the completion of locally traditional courses and to allow or encourage them to engage in work or study projects outside the inherited "college preparatory" structure. Thus the student is denied opportunities to try on adult roles in society, in favor of the further study in the disciplines common to secondary school and college. Although his academic development can be remarkably extended in this manner, it is equally clear that this feat is often accomplished at the cost of other kinds of growth.[4]

Again, this is not to argue that, with increasing numbers of students going on to college, secondary schools should affect ignorance of what is coming next. Our proposition is that beyond a certain point in many students' lives, formal studies may lay claim to energies, efforts, and time that could better be expended in other ways. The committee is convinced that these instances are by no means rare, and that through providing challenging alternatives to further classroom studies, schools can "prepare" even more students even better for college and for life. Conversely, despite all the apparent concern shown over him through new curriculums and even newer methods, the late adolescent caught in the academicians' jealous hands senses perhaps correctly that the adults around do not regard him as a person, but rather as some passive object into which correct behavior and further erudition are being pumped.

The committee joins the headmasters in their hypothesis that many of their students are academically ready for college-level work at the end of the eleventh grade, if not before. We therefore urge these schools and others to arrive at a practical sense of an academic "college preparatory" program that may be completed early, so that students would then be free to elect to proceed either into explicitly advanced studies at the schools or elsewhere, to job internships, to studies and travels abroad, or to whatever other fruitful possibilities may commend themselves. While no amount

---

4. Again, see Heath, *op. cit.*, for extended discussions of the parallel paths along which different elements of the personality mature.

of learning is ever enough, it is possible that some of just one kind can be too much.

We realize that the judgments and decisions necessary for such programs will not be simple. It is so much easier to leave things up to the departments, which are always glad to teach swifter students more. What we are asking, as in our other recommendations, is that schools regard themselves as instruments and their students' development into practical, sensitive young adults as proper ends. Once these basic distinctions become clear, it should be possible, if not always simple, to attack the problems.

Many of these same problems exist at universities. We have already remarked on the curricular implications of the faculty's principal allegiance to their disciplines, rather than to their institutions and its students. But again, these professionalized attitudes have effects on the academic community as a whole that are not without implications—generally harmful, we believe—for the education of late adolescents.

The large universities, even the smaller ones and many colleges, find themselves assuming the model of a corporation, working on contractual bases with the government, business, and social agencies; confederating themselves with other universities and colleges; focusing on long-term plans and plant development; recruiting and hoarding talent; refining their processes; and, in general, perfecting their ability to provide goods and services and trained talent to the national economy. Increasingly, the brains business is becoming big business and is evoking appropriate institutional reactions. In such an atmosphere the students of the ages of our concern feel out of place. They have come to the university or college to experiment and to learn, not to become parts of a machine. Wishing to be taken seriously while being spared commitment, they find, instead, a set of separate totem poles among which they are asked to pick a lowest place. Instead of being the "product," they are very junior "personnel."

This same organization of the university around other goals has meant the bureaucratization of administration. Friendly, unofficial relationships devoid of roles between staff and students are neither common nor expected. Professors expect students to take their human problems to the dean, and the deans are often physically and psychologically remote. Specialists in their own right, they also find it difficult to relate to the students

as people, rather than as problems. Thus the students, twice rebuffed, feel that the system puts dialogue out of reach and minimizes their role as active human beings.

Similarly, the increase and rationalization of physical facilities tend to perpetuate and reinforce existing ills. Departments have their own, separate buildings; students are segregated from the faculty in washrooms, cafeterias, and dormitories; "administration" is separated both from "living" and "learning"; the classrooms are either barren or overspecialized; and in them the students are either talked at or expected to perform the conversational feat called seminars.

It may well be—and the committee does suspect—that in liberal education the point of diminishing economies of scale is rapidly reached. The apparent efficiencies of size and specialization seem diametrically opposed to late adolescents' needs for close acquaintanceship with skilled adults and for engagement with them in a variety of relevant tasks. We therefore expect present experiments in the deliberate fractionalization of the freshman and sophomore classes at large universities to continue. We expect smaller colleges to experience a resurging interest in what they offer, especially in their freshman and sophomore years. And we expect in general growing professional attention (the attention of a new kind of profession) to the educational environment that best serves the needs of young people in their later teens.

We think we have identified a few characteristics of such an environment. As the preceding discussion has been meant to make clear, we think the features of the educational community are peculiarly important for students of this age. Indeed, we believe that a full sense of "community," a minimum of internal barriers, will mark these emerging institutions, whether in the later years of school, the early ones of college, or at an institution deliberately combining elements of both.

We expect, for instance, such communities to be coeducational. In the course of our year's inquiry we became profoundly impressed by the different natures and needs of young men and women as they relate to education. Yet we became impressed, too, by their educational need for the presence of the other sex in the community and classroom. We suspect that some form of coordinate structure might do optimal justice to their

needs to feel both different from the others and alike. But we are equally certain that the separate education of the sexes is a truly liberal education for none.[5] Half the race is of the other sex. This is far too large a share of human experience to be omitted from these critical years.

Thus we recommend that such communities include men and women, both as students and as staff. We also recommend that there be as few other barriers as possible between sections of the community. All elements, if only through representation, should be able to participate in decision making, including insofar as possible the original designs and plans. Clearly, most of the original structure will have to be planned by adult professionals, but attempts can and should be made to include students. Departmental walls should be broken down, so that faculty and students alike come to identify their purposes with the broad ends of general education rather than with the narrower means of separate disciplines. Much instruction should take place not in formal classrooms but in studies or laboratories, where both the faculty member and the students would be pursuing common interests. We also hope to see residential arrangements similarly integrated. Instead of faculty homes and student dormitories, we recommend something more like apartments used by the various elements of the community. Successful entries in the Harvard Houses, or the "families" at The Meeting School, serve as examples. Perhaps even more accurately, the apartment building used by students and staff of the Associated Colleges of the Midwest at the Newberry Library in Chicago shows the sort of living that we suggest. Our purpose, as in other elements

5. Some argument can be made for separating young men and women in the classroom, to spare the latter the social danger of challenging late adolescent males, and to permit the classes to fit the sexes' different styles of learning. The committee considers, however, that sexual differences in styles of learning vary more within each group than they do between the two, and that the risks, to both sexes, of exhibiting female intellect are not worth their separation in these years. On the whole, we suspect that such classroom separation could best be worked in day schools, whether public or independent, from which the sexually segregated students could return to communities and homes comprising the two sexes. Conversely, the more isolated the academic community, the greater we sense its need for coeducation. As pointed out elsewhere in this report, college authorities are arriving at this same conclusion. Hamilton had greater need to become coeducational than has Amherst. Apart from a few legacies from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no interest in sexual segregation is to be seen in public schools.

of community organization, is to place teachers and students together, as people, in a situation where it is clear to all that the adults are still students and the students are being thought of as adults.

The teachers at such an institution would be interested in their students as young people and in what they teach as a liberating exercise of the human spirit. Indeed, they will be exercising their disciplines in relationships outside the community as researchers, writers, consultants, or in other meaningful ways. Teachers of late adolescents seem most effective when they are working with their apprentices at a common, serious task. As teacher and student stand there, shoulder to shoulder, they should be regarding something other than the teacher's image. This common, external task, we think, has been the elusive value of a teacher's research. It shows the student that his instructor can do more than teach academic skill: he can exercise it in adult affairs. Hence our desire for other kinds of active professionals to be represented, in order that the community strike the students as a working, yet tentative model of the real world.

Hence, too, our hope that such a community would be regularly open to students of ages older than our target group. There is increasing demand among adults for liberal studies. More directly to our purpose, we are persuaded that the presence of older people in the classes would contribute much to the students' sense of being initiated into adulthood. It would, for instance, make clear that learning is not just something that older folk make younger people do. On the contrary, the actual presence of these older people and the idea that the institution regarded them as a part of its regular clientele would do much, we are convinced, to give late adolescents a sense that self-education is a never-ending process. Furthermore, of course, these older people could add valuable points of view to class discussions.

Like all the other elements of community life, the athletic and recreational programs should be focused on mutual student and faculty participation. Healthy physical activity is necessary and quite pleasant for young people. The problem is to keep it from serving others' ends. We had therefore thought of recommending the abolition of formal, "varsity" interinstitutional athletics in the latter years of school and the early ones of college. But that would have misrepresented our aim. For the senses of

fruitful self-discipline, team work, and accomplishment that can accompany serious athletics can conduce powerfully to a student's liberal maturation. As with the curriculum, the problem resides in distinguishing ends from means. Its solution will lie in people and purposes, not in arbitrary rules.

Another problem will be to keep the community in lively, relevant contact with the outer world. We have mentioned how the institution's attitudes toward its neighborhood and region, toward older students, and toward its staff and their careers can help give late adolescents an idea of participating in adult affairs. But they need more than the idea; they need experience. We propose therefore that students in grades 11 through 14—particularly in grades 12 and 13—be given at least one opportunity, as a part of their formal liberal educations, to engage in extended internships, or work programs, away from both their academic communities and their families. We discuss this goal and some possible ways to meet it in the succeeding chapters of this report. Here we wish only to state it as a general aim for a liberal institution. We share Lawrence S. Kubie's proposition that contemporary American adolescents, especially in the suburbs and the cities, are deprived of opportunities to test themselves and their society through the many apprenticeships that formerly marked the later teens.[6] And we are persuaded that this "responsible sharing in the productive activities of the adult world," to use Kubie's apt phrase, could give many students precisely that sense of real life so necessary for their later education.

Therefore, apart from erasing its internal barriers, we hope that such an institution would seek deliberately to minimize its edges and to make itself the vital center of its students' experiences, rather than their bound.

---

6. "The Ontogeny of the Dropout Problem," in Lawrence A. Pervin; Louis E. Reik; Willard Dalrymple, eds., *The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 23-25.

Some Possible Varieties of Educational Experience

"Why has one of our noblest efforts, the improvement of mankind through teaching and learning, brought such disappointing results? (We) were mistaken in believing that the quality of man can be improved by placing him for many years on an educational island, and by verbal instruction isolated from the total life of the individual and his society. Yet we still deceive ourselves in believing that the typical classroom is an effective instrument for helping young people to become mature."[1]

The rapidity of the accumulation of human knowledge has become so apparent as to be a truism today. The ancient cry "I am human; nothing human is foreign to me" is now an instantaneous, electronic fact. Perhaps it was never true that a man could be born, could live, and could die all within the same basic society. In any event, at the present it is increasingly clear that the world in which a student lives and learns will not be that in which he will spend even a fraction of his later, productive life. His instruction during the years of his formal education will inevitably take place under the tutelage of men from by-gone times, alien teachers from another land.

It is said, for instance, that 80 percent of the drugs currently prescribed by doctors did not exist 10 years ago. Similar statements can be made in other walks of life. And thus, as technology changes the tools of civilization, man's powers to meet the challenges of society are also transformed. Indeed, his transformed powers help bring new problems to view, not just through new machinery but rather by making a former given of the universe seem a variable that might be changed. Thus a drought is a problem only if it is conceivable that water might be had, and only affluent societies regard poverty as a problem.

---

1. Robert Ulich, *Crisis and Hope in American Education.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1951, p. 5.

In this sense it is quite true that science and technology have created sensibility. It seems also true that the intensity of sympathetic indignation over various aspects of the human condition is a direct function of the awareness that there exists the technical capacity to do something to correct the misfortunes now so directly apparent. No one was deeply aroused over the plight of the chimney boys of London until technical change made their jobs no longer necessary. Then and only then did men see the horrors of the evil for what they were. Nor is this pattern restricted to the days of the industrial revolution. Indigent, landless agricultural workers, recently regarded as a constant part of the human scene, are now subjects of social concern. The term "ghetto," which was once meant to refer to the safely remote horrors of alien places or mediaeval times, today is on the tongues, and on the consciences, of all civilized men.

In such a world of constant change, where the changes are in the morality of the culture as well as in its tools, the traditional role of education—especially of the liberal education of late adolescents—must be seriously reviewed. It is abundantly clear that formal, educators' education cannot hope to keep pace with the factual knowledge and the skills that are requisite in this modern age. It seems therefore that the most significant feature of formal education in the future, especially in the formative later teens, will be the inculcation of an attitude that will inspire in the individual a never-ending intent to go on learning on his own.

We believe that the school and college of the latter third of the twentieth century must be concerned primarily with developing in the student the capacity for sophisticated, sensitive self-direction and the desire to take increasing responsibility for his own education. We propose that, in the later years of school and the early ones of college, each student be permitted, encouraged, and helped to undertake programs of work and study of which he, rather than the institution and its staff, is the author. We further request that this work—whether it is academic in the usual sense of "independent study" or experiential, involving off-campus work—should be made available when and as the individual student voices the need for "that something more" which the routine of the formal classroom cannot provide. As Robert Ulich said, "Though we admit the growing importance

of widespread intellectual training in advanced forms of civilization, we contend that the intellect is not the only and perhaps not even the primary means of sympathetic understanding between men and men. The culture of the emotions is just as important."[2]

There is, we agree, nothing so very novel about our proposition. Late adolescents have long been known for their restlessness, their desire to taste of life. Other cultures have provided them apprenticeships in adult activities, and American educators in increasing numbers are recommending that students "take a year off" between secondary school and college, or between college and graduate school. But this counsel to postpone the pressing, personal urges that many young people feel until a block of formal education is complete seems to us to create only a sense of further frustration on their part. People are human beings before they are scholars. As developing human beings they wish to learn what they and their unfolding world are all about. This search for relevance, so characteristic of the young people of our concern, is especially characteristic, too, of a point in history when the past seems to offer no answers and the future little promise. Rather than fight this mood, this concern that often captivates the entire emotional life of the young, educational institutions should be prepared to take swift and fruitful advantage of the creative drives that emotional involvements can arouse. Their response, in other words, need not and should not be counsel to wait another year or two, or to take a leave of absence to drop out. What the students wish, and what a truly educational institution should be prepared to help them find, is a way, a leave of presence, to drop in. As Ulich asks, ". . . how does it come about that man can become mature? One of the answers is that man needs a purpose that gives to his life meaning, direction, and, consequently, the possibility of concentration and integration. Such purpose always originates when motivations for action coming from outer experience square with a person's inherent desires and capacities. If our schools fail to help a person discover his purpose, they fail in almost everything that really matters."[3]

---

2. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

It seems to us that the years of grades 11 through 14 are peculiarly appropriate for such endeavors. As we have said before, these are the years when young people are old enough to think, and increasingly to act, like adults, but still young enough to wish to spare themselves commitment. These are the years, therefore, when their educational institutions, whether secondary schools or colleges, can aim at their development as people who can, in Elizabeth Hall's terms, operate with responsible freedom as individuals.[4] These are the years when late adolescents can gain deep, significant bases for the career decisions implicit in their further learning. These are the years, in short, when they can profit uniquely from environments where they serve as apprentices to masters who visibly care, instead of being products of a system.

They are restless, aching to try on new roles that are relevant to the emerging world around them. They know more about this world than did we adults about ours at their ages, and they are less oriented toward the basic medium of our habitual style of education: the written word. Nor can any ordinary, classroom curriculum teach integrity, involvement, or maturity. The dimensions of maturation, central to a person's liberal education, are neglected in traditional programs and are done less and less well in boarding schools and isolated colleges, sheltered as they are behind their fences or beneath their elms.

Student-initiated programs, on the other hand, whether at colleges like Wesleyan, Dartmouth, and Yale or at schools like Friends Central, Walnut Hill, Hunter College High School, Lawrenceville, or The Hill, in such areas as tutoring, hospital work, or independent study, all seem to confirm the proposition that meaningful ego-activity is a need, often amounting to psychic hunger, of late adolescents. Our readings and conversations throughout the year, with students, with theoreticians, and with planners of newer institutions, convinced us of the students' distaste for the emotional isolation of invented, preparatory work and of their driving thirst to become involved, as whole persons, in something that really seems to count.

This is not to argue that these students are best served by being led, or

4. Elizabeth B. Hall, *The House of Education Needs Overhaul; The Theory Behind Simon's Rock*. Great Barrington, Mass.: Simon's Rock, July 1967.

allowed to go, on a set of children's crusades across the landscape. But it is to propose that what the psychologists and philosophers of education have been telling us seems increasingly to be borne out in fact. Time after time, whether we were talking with members of Exeter's Washington Intern Program, or with the Congressional office staffs with whom they worked, or with members of the Andover-Exeter program in Boston's South End, or with participants in the Great Lakes College Association program in the Philadelphia ghetto, we were impressed by the overwhelming importance of the experience to the students who had been so richly served by serving it. Their leaders confirmed our observation, pointing out the educators' responsibility to ensure a firm emotional identification on each student's part with the work that was at hand. Otherwise, as one put it, the institution is plagued with high-impulse, low-yield butterflies flitting from one evanescent attraction to the next.

Such problems, however, can be met. Indeed, they are being met with growing expertise. Both through selection and orientation of the students and organization of the programs, forward-looking institutions are showing that these advantages can be planned and gained with purpose and at reasonable costs. Even in such endeavors—especially in them—there is need for institutional strategies.

We therefore urge that work-study experiences, some of them quite outside the traditional, formal academic environment, be made a regular part of the programs of students in these years. There is no reason why most of the world should not be part of the "campus" of any modern liberal institution that truly desires to have its students face reality. It is only thus that they can be expected to meet the range of challenges that will later be the very essence of their lives. Indeed, the institution of the future must be free to utilize the entire present world as its campus or laboratory if it is to prepare youth for the unknown worlds of the next century. Only the man who knows both sides of life, the active as well as the theoretical, can really know what life is like. He will have learned that it is pluralistic and multidimensional, a mixture of rational and irrational forms, and full of conflicting fractions of the truth.

We see these experiences as helping to captivate in a constructive manner the interests and the urges of the young. We believe that the opportunity

to be involved in the actual operations of society is an important part of maturation, one that once was possible for the youth who helped on the farm, served before the mast, or contributed significantly to the daily existence of the family. We envision the off-campus program as a fruitful challenge to those whose intellectual attainments may have outstripped their emotional growth. We think this sort of experience can provide a fertile basis for a student's later social studies and, indeed, place his whole formal education in better perspective. We see the possibility that such work experience may help give the individual some realistic view of the workings of himself and of his society.

We have found three types of experience that we think merit consideration: group programs away from, but largely under the supervision of, the institution: "solo" programs in which the individual is more directly responsible for his independent work; and vacations, leaves of absence, or moratoriums in which the student interrupts temporarily, but completely, his formal relationship with the institution.

The splinter campus. "The splinter campus" is our expression for a group program, coordinated and operated by the institution away from its permanent campus. The conception of it springs from the realization that schools and colleges need not limit themselves to the resources they happen to have within their fences, but should appropriate resources of the wider world. We suggest that each institution, either alone or through consortiums, have a number of splinter campuses, scattered "where the action is" and capable of being shifted should the action move elsewhere. We hope that a student might, in the course of his total program, be expected to attend more than one such splinter campus.

In our inquiry we have found that such external groups seem to work best if they contain only about 20 students, engaged in reasonably similar work, and a resident faculty member engaged perhaps in his own project, too, but there principally to provide liaison with the home campus, to organize seminars, speakers, and trips related to the group's internships, and, most important, to provide a concerned adult presence, helping the students make sense out of their experience.

The students would work full time in real jobs: social service, laboratories, hospitals, computer facilities, government offices or field parties,

factories, farms, or schools according to the nature of their splinter campus. They would also have a regularly scheduled group seminar, in which they would reflect upon their activities, integrate them into their former experiences, discuss related readings, hear related lectures, and in general reinforce each other. Such a splinter campus would operate year-round, with students moving in and out each term. Time spent at such a campus would be considered just as valuable (in amassing credits toward graduation) as time spent in more traditional ways on the main campus.

This strikes us as a most important point. The splinter campus, having been organized and offered for its educational value, should be fully credited as such. It might be possible for the students to carry on with certain, if limited, course work there. We are persuaded, however, that to organize the splinter campus in this divisive way would be to negate the primary purpose of the experience, which in our opinion is to free the student from such formal course work in order that he can look at himself, his education, and the world from the perspective of actually helping make society function. But we do not wish to seem dogmatic on this issue. While we do not desire to hide our sense of what works best, neither do we want to seem to be thinking for all institutions or for all time.

Yet, with this caveat, some generalizations from what we have observed might prove of help. As we propose above, something like 20 seems like a good size for each group: large enough to be economically feasible and small enough both to be manageable and, more important, to provide a focus of loyalty and identification for the students. Hanover and Earlham colleges, among others, and Exeter and Andover report that this size works best. It also seems important that the students work in real jobs. Skidmore and Colgate colleges, the Great Lakes College Association program in Philadelphia, Andover and Exeter, and writers like Blos and Harvey, all agree that such work, if it is to be useful learning, must be real.[5] These same institutions report the value that the intellectual organi-

5. Peter Blos, "Phases of Adolescence," pp. 52-158 in *On Adolescence; A Psychoanalytic Interpretation.* New York: The Free Press, 1966; William A. Harvey, "Identity and Depression in Students Who Fail," in Lawrence A. Pervin, Louis E. Reik, Willard Dalrymple, eds., *The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 223-236.

zation of such experience through concurrent seminars provides. Just as classroom work can seem irrelevant, so may jumbled, formless experiences in a new and formless environment. Thus while we could not recommend that students take course outlines or Great Books along, we would expect to see useful books consulted as needs arise for them in situ.

We join David Mallery and others with whom we talked in finding short, end-of-year projects too brief for the sort of experience we intend.[6] On the other hand, a point of diminishing returns is finally reached, beyond which a change to other experiences, ordinarily at the home campus, would provide a more effective education. Our conversations with students thus involved, their teachers and administrators, and the adults with whom they worked have led us to conclude that 10 or 11 weeks provide a period of optimal length. In the succeeding chapters of this report we explain how such periods could fit into a quarterly program at the main campus and, indeed, how such a one does at the Woodstock Country School. This is a maximum-minimum problem, where a midpoint is to be preferred to either extreme. Similarly, we hope that, while a student's total program in the years of our concern would not consist exclusively of such work, a student that found the experience congenial could do it once or twice again. While a few cultural shocks can be useful in these years, late adolescents can also profit from a sense of belonging to a stable community, one that was there before they came and to which they can return. The splinter campus is, by definition, away from a more permanent home base.

Experience has also shown that, with a faculty-student ratio such as we propose, year-round operation of the splinter campus, and the resultant oversubscription of space made possible at the home campus, these operations need not incur extraordinary expenses per student. Earlham College operates its Washington Program within its usual costs. Friends World Institute does nothing but this sort of thing within customary tuitions. And federal funds are available for work-study programs properly related to the war on poverty. In any event, it is most important that such a program be considered a normal part of the learning process at the institution and that

6. But for useful examples of what can be done on a smaller, local scale, see David Mallery, *A New Look at the Senior Year.* Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, May 1967.

it be budgeted and billed accordingly. It should not require exceptional expenses of the students involved, nor should they have to do special "make-up" work upon return. It should, in other words, bring full credit and should cost no more.

We are encouraged by the experience of those colleges which have established off-campus programs at expenses per student no greater than those of normal terms at the home campus. Clearly, judicious planning can keep the off-campus program within reasonable limits, but it is also clear that doing so depends upon optimal utilization of the program and of its attendant facilities. A detailed budget would depend upon the strategy and tactics of a specific institution. In any event it is clear that the design of viable programs and the coordination of costly, professional efforts is not likely to be successful on a part-time basis. Therefore, whatever the details of its grander strategy and specific tactics on this matter, we are persuaded that an institution must be prepared to invest in the necessary administrative officers and staff. Indeed, the experience of some colleges indicates that such adequate backing by the administration can bring significant benefits in the economic conduct of such programs.

On the other hand, it is equally necessary that these splinter campuses not represent such permanent investments in plant that the institution cannot afford to let one go and initiate another. It is for this reason that the renting or leasing of local housing, or the purchase of easily resalable property, is recommended rather than any investment in a typical institutional dormitory complex. As mentioned elsewhere in this report, ad hoc consortiums would lend themselves to this purpose. Or services like those which now arrange European study programs may evolve, offering splinter campus experiences to those who wish to come. Through these, institutions could, in effect, buy temporary shares in those programs of interest to their students and shift their holdings as those interests change. Independent splinter campuses may develop, accepting transfer students for a quarter in Washington or New York, again not unlike some programs that exist already. As these developments take place, the problem will be to keep these off-campus facilities as unlike a formal school or college setting as possible. It is always attractive in such interinstitutional circumstances to take refuge in quantitative units like hours of classroom instruction, but

that kind of refuge is precisely what these programs should be seeking to avoid.

The individually oriented program. Not all valid educational experience must follow group patterns. We realize that much of a person's liberal education is derived from his being a participating member of a group, or of several groups at once. We are also not unaware of the economic advantages of classroom teachers over private tutors. But just as there are arguments and needs for independent study, there can be occasions for individual work away from the institution.

Where these individual situations occur, we hope that the institution will be ready and able to make optimal use of the possibilities that arise. Coordinators of off-campus programs can be particularly helpful in assisting such individuals in arranging their "solo" programs. Several forms of this kind of program came to our attention during the course of our inquiry. Indeed, one such student, a senior, was freed by his school to spend the late spring on a private project similar to ours. We met him, learned much from him, and wish to thank him here. If he profited from his inquiries in anything like the way we did, his spring was educational in the truest sense.

1. A "solo" might be housed in an institution's splinter campus although he did not share the experiences common to the larger group. Thus, for instance, two students working independently at the Smithsonian Institution were residing with a group of Congressional interns. A student working at a museum in New York City could live with a group working in the ghetto. The broadening effect of such diverse experience in the group will have, of course, its plus and minus sides. But at least this provides a useful, possible way to accomplish an important educational aim.

2. A splinter campus might be specifically designed to house a group of students each of whom has his own different, specific job in the community. By way of example, 18 students might be involved in 18 quite different jobs in Boston or New York City or in a European town. In these cases, a comprehension of the general community would be the object of the seminars. The total group would provide the individuals an opportunity to compare their acquired points of view and thus to see ways in which different parts of the community interact.

3. Finally, there might be the total "solo," with the individual student related to some group quite independent of his home institution. He might, for example, be alone at a hospital, or on the S.S. Hope, or on a government survey in the West. Off-campus programs at many colleges are of this form. But many variations are possible for the range of predictable needs. As with the other alternatives, there is no sharp demarcation between a "solo" and the others. We wish only to illustrate the different experiences that the different arrangements could provide.

In each of the instances outlined above, the experience itself would be the primary purpose of the program, and evaluation can be expected to prove a difficult, tenuous process. In any event, such evaluation cannot be expected to be of the normal, quantitative, academically oriented variety. The impact of the program on the individual may be a subtle and long-range change in attitudes rather than a dramatic change in department or in American history grades. The institution must be prepared to postpone its audit of the new program, just as most have already postponed for some time their audits of what they are doing today.

The moratorium. Even in the presence of the flexible provisions we have just described, there may come a time in a young person's life when he must step out of the educational lockstep and back away from the conveyor belt that, however varied its load, keeps bringing him more learning nine months of every year. The time may come for a person to take stock of what and where he is, and whither going. Perspective is an important ingredient in education, and an educational institution must not be so rigid nor so conceited as to assume that it alone can provide all things to all people or even to its own students, or that what it chooses to provide is the only road to Rome.

Today the term "dropout" has come to imply failure, surrender, defeat. The burden of the blame may rightly belong to the institution rather than to the student. Indeed, if liberal learning is anything as complex as we have come to believe, it is clear that it cannot be accomplished by a simple act of will on anybody's part: the student's, his teachers', or his institution's. Thus the identity crisis referred to earlier in this report may well be as much a problem for the institution and its staff as for the adolescent.

Schools and colleges are designed to educate, to provide environments

in which learning can take place efficiently and effectively. That is why people come there or are sent there to study, and it is why other people come there or are brought there to teach. Yet perhaps too often teachers assume that their teaching is the only medium through which growth and learning can occur, that the students will take with them when they leave only what they brought and what these local teachers taught. We are persuaded that institutions staffed by such teachers as these need to reassess their identity and purpose.

Where the relationship of the learner and the teacher has broken down, no teaching can take hold effectively. Meaningful learning will simply not occur. Under these circumstances, scolding the student is like shouting English to a peasant in the Alps. Calling the student a failure may lend a certain comfort to the teacher's professional conscience, but it also misses the point. The real failure lies in the miscasting of the various parts of the system: the student, the other students, his teachers, the institution, perhaps his family, perhaps his society. When the system doesn't work, it is the task of real educators to see what's wrong. Generally, in the shorter run none of these institutional elements can be changed, so it often seems best to remove the student from the system for a bit and let him see if time and new perspectives will make that system or another more useful to his needs. But only a traditional schoolmaster would regard this mutual incongruence as a failure on the student's part alone.

We believe that an institution that mounts off-campus opportunities as a normal part of its program will regard this program as a set of means, not as an end. We are also persuaded that, strengthened by this flexible sense of purpose, it will be prepared to react with wisdom and sympathy to the student who finds himself in the emotional bind that usually leads to dropping out. We are confident that one of the greatest benefits of the off-campus program will be the fostering and then the maintenance of an institutional attitude that is receptive rather than reactive to the idea that young people require at times a change of pace, a chance to wallow, a time to dream and to bask in the sun while new energies are being stored for yet another assault on the unknown. Such necessary times off from the educational treadmill cannot always be expected to fit the convenience of the institution's annual summer vacation. They are, rather, required when and if

the individual finds that he no longer is effective while performing the rituals of the academic life. So one form of unscheduled off-campus program may well be the moratorium term, a vacation taken when the time seems right, not when the traditional schedule demands.

Evidence from several colleges is clear: a period spent away from the institution in this way does not seem to result in permanent damage, in depressed educational aspirations, nor even, in many instances, in any loss of time. Institutions where as many as one out of three students drops out have found that a strong majority return to complete their studies, and that they do so with an appropriate number of honors, with normal academic accomplishments, and frequently within the usual four years' time. Indeed, one increasingly popular use of the credits to be gained through the Advanced Placement Program is the fashioning of such a drop-out year. It is clear that if the draft did not place an educationally irrelevant premium on a student's staying in college, even greater numbers would be taking time away.

These same feelings of frustration, of uncertainty, and of the need to "get away from it all for a while" occur to younger people, too. At the moment they are caught. To drop out of school is for them to get out of step, to fail their parents, and to injure their chances for college. So they try to hang on, going through empty motions and hoping that something will turn up. Yet they too are late adolescents, brooding, playing, and storming their separate paths to adulthood. The problem of fashioning ways to let them choose, with wise and sympathetic advice, the times for reflection, play, and work must be faced squarely by all liberal institutions of the future.

Achieving Freedom in Allocating Time

It is our central proposition that some American educational institutions are not adequate to their new tasks, and we also observe, as a corollary, that many of their parametric notions of proper ends and available means are similarly restricted. Earlier pragmatic, tactical adjustments to the cities, towns, or farms of other times have acquired objective values in the eyes of later men. The growing season, for instance, that once dominated an essentially agricultural society need no longer set the bounds of the academic year in an industrial, air-conditioned nation. We are only beginning to get used to the notion of alternative, competing, public high schools. And the Carnegie unit, invented in its own time as a tactical device to free the schools to teach subjects as they thought best, need no longer indicate that the modern liberal curriculum exists in separate, equal modules of the national disciplines—modules of locally adjustable density and extension, but of common, public, universal mass. This is not to argue that either Cicero or civics can be learned as well in nine minutes as in nine months, but rather that institutions' purposes are not simply to house curriculums but to design and mount them. Institutions make use of calendars and weekly schedules as they do of teachers' skills, but their modern ends must transcend their inherited means. It is the task of each school to reshape them to its purpose.

It is, of course, easier and often more satisfying to execute an inherited task than to invent another, more effective one. This seems especially true in education, where ultimate social and personal effects are so much more difficult to perceive than are immediate effects. Thus we teachers have come to regard freshman English and major courses as given entities, to be perfected as ends in themselves, rather than as pragmatic, tactical devices designed to further higher educational ends. This shortsightedness is only human. No one can ponder ultimate truths with every act. But it appears especially true in education, where any change seems to threaten

"traditional values" and where the only alternative to standing still often seems to be retreat. From kindergarten through graduate school, fashions move even more slowly than they do in men's attire. And this is particularly so in liberal education, where the ends desired are not easily measured skills.

Yet we firmly believe that, if liberal education is meant to enhance maturity, not simply to increase erudition, the academic schedule should and can be made to serve this end. This should be true both of the yearly calendar and of the arrangement of classes within the week, and it should be true not only in fact but also in the minds of the members of the community at hand. A school or college, or any alternative to this inherited pair, that seems to its members to be filling the traditional academic year with traditional operations in the hope that they all somehow correlate, is easy prey to the divisive forces of personal lethargy or unfocused ambitions.[1] All too often the educational tactics invented to serve one set of needs have outlived that situation, acquiring instead an imputed value for their elegant worthlessness and thus hampering later responses to emerging needs. We think that there is nothing so deadly serious or mysterious about education that we should not try to think about it frontwards.

Things could be worse. There is already great variety in academic scheduling in schools and colleges, and each system has its staunch adherents. We welcome such diversity of tactics and regret only that many of these local variations are, themselves, perceived by their practitioners as universal and necessary truths rather than as empirical devices for meeting institutional ends. It is one of the paradoxes in education that so many teachers proclaim loudly the unsuitability of this or that scheduling pattern which others defend as working with signal success.

This situation is an old chestnut on the international scene, where each national educational establishment finds its own calendrical habits uniquely appropriate to human nature and those of its neighbors harmless, if bizarre, fruits of inventive whimsy. Different institutions may have found contentment with local, idiosyncratic divisions of labor or of study, but

1. Nevitt Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967, p. 23.

no enduring sense of satisfaction can exist if these various patterns do not serve, and are not fully sensed to serve, the emerging patterns of society. Several such patterns that must be seriously taken into account are becoming clearer. Again we plead for congruence.

For instance, the time may well be past when any educational institution can remain unused over extended holidays. Neither society nor the institution can afford this luxury. The foregone uses and the costs are all too great. The earlier genteel practice of having a family "summer vacation" and the needs of others for child labor in the fields may once have argued for the present academic year. But changing patterns of living and of technology have reduced the significance of this traditional summer break. Winter vacations are becoming more popular; air-conditioning and other devices are making the summer more tolerable; summer schools are flourishing; and, as we have pointed out before, young people are presenting an increasing demand for jobs that cannot be found or carried out at home or school. The committee is convinced that these off-campus experiences constitute valuable, often necessary, steps in liberal learning; that, for the ages under consideration here, they should be included among institutional goals; and that the summer should be included in the means to be employed.

Late adolescents are already making mounting use of their summer vacations for jobs or travel or study. Although we propose that educators respond to these independent thrusts, it would not be our intent to throttle the fruitful sense of personal initiative and meaningful achievement that accompany many such less formal educational experiences. Nor do we wish to do away with extended vacations, for we think that they provide valuable opportunities for integrating reflections and for a fruitful change of pace. Our purpose would be to make such changes more useful and to facilitate and encourage such off-campus accomplishments by making them possible in other times than summer and by incorporating summer study in regular institutional plans.

In many cases, by way of example, the market for jobs of personal, academic, or career interest to students, especially to young men, is flooded for the few months of the summer, while the rest of the year finds everyone in school or college and hence unavailable. Yet internships in governmental

offices, in social work, in educational institutions and museums, in laboratories, on boats or farms would be equally or even more fully available in seasons other than the summer at the time that the supply of students competing for such jobs would be much less. An institution with a properly modular calendar would be in a uniquely strong position to discover these opportunities and to make them available as a regular part of its program throughout the year. Antioch, Beloit, and Earlham, to name but three colleges, have learned what real economies can be gained in this way over constrained, sporadic efforts, at the same time that such off-campus experiences have become more richly related, through appropriate recognition, to the campus program.

The costs of finding and exploiting such opportunities are not inconsiderable. We met men from schools and colleges for whom this was a full-time job. But we, like them, are convinced that their jobs are required if this necessary task is to be done. And we, again like them, think interinstitutional cooperation can yield signal efficiencies in this regard. Through such a consortium, Earlham College, for instance, can mount internships in Washington within tuition costs, for the building costs are spread across the year. The Phillips Exeter Academy, on the other hand, mounts its internships alone, and so is driven to higher costs for housing.

The Great Lakes College Association and the Associated Colleges of the Midwest offer outstanding examples of how independent institutions can form operating alliances in order to accomplish together what no single one could afford to do alone. We noted other, incipient ad hoc alliances among men's and women's schools and colleges in New England for the interchange of meaningful numbers of students of the opposite sex for meaningful pieces of time. Thus the institutions hope to become a little bit coeducational. In the spring of our study Sarah Lawrence College admitted several young men from a few men's colleges for the term.

Cooperation through consortiums could lend itself to many uses: joint planning and operations in admissions, data processing, fund raising, summer schools, and teacher training. But these lie essentially outside the scope of our report. Our point here is simply that schools and colleges that have arranged schedules with other institutions in order to mount athletic programs and to hold debates can certainly consider sharing splin-

ter campuses throughout the nation and residences abroad. And if such efforts are seen to require a shift in the separate, habitual academic schedules of the institutions, it is our second point that such shifts can be made.

It is clearly possible to link summer studies to the work of the institution. More and more the educational plants in the country are being utilized, even at the secondary and elementary levels, in the summer. Camps are even seizing onto this theme. The evolution of new courses and the use of low-pressure, experimental programs is beginning to turn the summer vacation into a period of exciting educational awakening for increasing numbers of students and teachers. Simultaneously, of course, there has been an equally exciting awakening of administrators and trustees to the economic benefits to be derived from spreading the mounting costs of the physical plant over an entire year of operations.

Whatever the separate, converging forces behind this trend, we suspect that one strong impulse has been the sense of the participants, both students and teachers, of the difference between their regular school programs and their summer studies. The latter are designed and offered to meet specific needs. They often involve novel subject matter, learned in brief, intensive periods, rather than the conventional subject matter that is used to fill the academic year. The summer school is often coeducational. Not all the students were there the term before, nor will they all return for the next term. Things have the stimulating disorder of practicality. Thus, oddly enough, many of the very features that make the summer term an attractive one for many students and teachers tend also to eliminate any chance that the summer program might be made an integral part of a young person's formal education.

As with off-campus experiences, we believe that both efficiencies and substance can be gained if institutions pay more formal regard to the experimental programs developing in summers "not for course credits but for education as an end in itself," and if institutions so alter their calendars and practices as to make summer studies more freely available to their students and their staff. We believe that it is an unfortunate aspect of most school schedules today that the year is divided into terms of semesters that rule out the profitable use of the summer as part of the students' regular academic programs. On the other hand, we are cheered by the vision of those

colleges, and of at least one school, that have included one or two or even three of their students' summers in their total formal programs. We are encouraged by the evidence that, after initial, predictable adverse reactions from some to the thought of going to school in "vacation," students have found that the summer can be a perfectly normal, often very pleasant, time to learn and that studies in the purposeful, pragmatic style of summer schools can offer strong competition to the attractions of idleness or employment. To repeat, our argument is not that students should have no extended vacations, but rather that these vacations need not be limited by the season.

Many colleges, and some schools, have recently made meaningful changes in their daily and weekly schedules as well as in their academic years. On the one hand they have adopted modular scheduling to enable themselves to offer class periods of different, appropriate lengths meeting at different, appropriate intervals according to the demands of differing disciplines or of differing ways of studying a given discipline throughout the week. Thus they can cut the cloth to fit the pattern, making short, frequent drill sessions available or longer periods for those extended discussions which otherwise are killed by the bell just when they finally have begun. So, too, they can set about deliberately to make more indefinite lengths of time available for experimental laboratories. All universities, most colleges, but only a few schools have their laboratories, like their libraries, open in the evenings in order that the necessary operations can be done. We welcome moves in this direction if only in order that students be reminded in this additional way that their work is prior in importance to its apportioned blocks of time. Experiments, after all, like other serious inquiries, cannot be run on rigid schedules without seeming pointless pursuits of what is already known. Thus pragmatic daily and weekly scheduling can satisfy subjective needs while also offering visible, objective gains.

Furthermore, such institutions have also discovered that the traditional two, supposedly equal semesters at college or three terms of differing lengths at boarding schools can be rearranged to serve educational ends. Again, as with the modular day and week, corners have to be cut and many circles squared to accommodate the several diverse operational elements of any school or college to a common plan. We as teachers know what serious prob-

lems are involved when instructors are asked to cast their courses in different forms. But the overriding need is clear for liberal institutions to seize control of themselves and to shape their operations to their wills. The world may or may not have been created in six days; but it is most unlikely that all knowledge was made in blocks of nine months' length.

For example, we discovered among colleges a growing interest in the discovery that an "interim" term between the two semesters can answer a variety of bothersome questions at the same time that it offers new advantages. Whether envisaged as an answer to the post-Christmas "lame-duck period" before midyear examinations or as an opportunity for off-campus programs or for extensive study on a single topic, such an interim term has found many adherents, who see in it a useful way to shape the rhythm of the year. In this fashion a refreshing change of pace and of activity is provided through a regular provision for a kind of experience not possible in the traditional academic schedule. This trend is spreading among undergraduate colleges, and we saw no signs of dissatisfaction among its experienced users.

Yet the possibilities of the aggressive, imaginative use of scheduling can perhaps be seen still better in the unusual development of a "posterim" term—a short period following the regular semesters, rather than separating them. Such a schedule permits the same intensive study of a single topic or the development of off-campus work. Although it does not offer a contrasting experience between the semesters, neither does it interrupt extended, two-semester courses or cumulative foreign language drills. This posterim tactic also provides a variety of added benefits that illustrate the impact of scheduling on the program potential of an institution. Therefore, although we do not specifically recommend it for all liberal institutions, we do think that any alternative proposal should be required to outweigh clearly the advantages to be gained through such a plan. A school or college can mount no more than one strategy; we only ask that it do so consciously.

Under this second scheme, for example, travel or off-campus programs can either be terminated at the end of the short posterim or be continued easily on through the summer months. This back-to-back use of a "regular" academic period with the summer, or with any other term made free, can also be used to provide the faculty with extended periods of time for study,

work, or travel without added expense to the institution's sabbatical budget. Schematically, this tactic may be likened to those three trimesters which completely fill the year. In this case, however, as at Hanover College, the summer trimester has been divided into a shorter first part—the posterim—and a longer second part for vacation or for further study.

Another way to link the summer to the rest of the year is to consider and treat the summer as one of four equal terms that together fill the year. We incline to this ourselves in order to keep periods of off-campus work available throughout the year and congruent with those of more formal instruction. Again, colleges that have elected this plan have been able to devise tactics with flexibilities unknown to most schools. The potential for a residential institution to serve a student population well in excess of its housing capacity has been mentioned earlier. But the potential for students and faculty to put such quarters back-to-back and hence obtain extended periods of time away from the institution as part of their normal program arrangement may help answer some of the questions of the costs of the new freedoms we propose.

Such equal modules, wrapped around the year, each roughly 11 weeks long, would provide a regular succession of appropriate periods, either for off-campus experiences or for on-campus instruction. (The Woodstock Country School offers an operating model of this plan. Not surprisingly to our committee, the director of this program finds it on the whole more appropriate to the needs and capabilities of eleventh and twelfth graders than to younger students and finds, too, that the school's staff has had to rethink an entire range of educational issues in effecting this seemingly peripheral change.) Similarly, in blocks of two, uniting perhaps a summer with either spring or fall, such quarters would provide useful periods for serious foreign study without the academic costs of an entire junior year abroad. Hence our earnest interest in this plan.

In the United States schools and colleges come in all shapes and sizes. Current interests in the development of new subjects, new strategies, and new techniques of instruction—indeed, whole new patterns of educational thought—have helped to create a wider variety of school and college programs than probably ever existed before. This is happening at a time when there is also greater family mobility than ever. To us these two sets of facts

argue that in any school or college there must be increasing attention to flexibility of programs, particularly in those areas that are most sequential in nature. Again, one of the most common reports to the schools from their graduated seniors as they enter college is that at college all freshmen are deemed to have been created equal and to need the same course in English composition. The professional diagnosis of a person's needs is an important medical art. Something like it will have to be developed in education by those who want their efforts to be taken seriously. In liberal institutions of this newer cast "senior English" and "freshman mathematics" are losing whatever meaning they once had. The earlier, traditional notions of both the classes and the subjects are becoming more usefully diffuse. And residential institutions like our four schools, to which students come from a desired variety of geographic, socioeconomic, and educational backgrounds, will have to address themselves to this issue with special vigor and vision.

For this reason we believe that the traditional notion of the year-long course that still obtains in many schools and in the initial years of many colleges must be scrutinized with care in the light of the changes we have sketched above. We envisage the time, and we think the time is now, when schools and colleges will have to think and act in terms of shorter length. Again, as elsewhere in this report, we note that the requirements of the times argue for adjustments favorable to the psychological needs of late adolescents. The intensive, if short-lived, bursts of energy and interest that characterize this developmental period put extensive, prescribed courses at a peculiar disadvantage. Teachers of the childhood and professional skills can depend on steadier learners. Arithmetic and business law can be scheduled over the year. But the same restless, brooding, speculative young adult that is spurring the variety of novel programs mentioned just above is also keeping any one such program equally disjointed. Shorter courses, in other words, might well prove not only useful but the only ones that work.

On the other hand there are clearly some sequential subjects that will require a prescribed succession of such shorter study units by the student. In this event—although we believe departments tend to overestimate the need—the student would, upon entrance or upon electing the field, start at that stage in the local sequence that would be appropriate to his background and his needs. The recent report of the Committee on the Undergraduate

Program in Mathematics to the Mathematical Association of America argues directly to this point, proposing that semesters replace academic years for curricular planning in that field. Too often at present the incoming student who is a bit ahead of local expectations has either to suffer the waste and harm of repetition or must forego pursuing the subject at the very moment when his interests may be high. Similarly, the shorter, quarter courses we recommend would permit a student to interrupt a sequential study for a term or two of off-campus work or travel or the study of some other field without having to wait a full 12 months to pick it up again. Again, what is needed is a sympathetic objectivity like that which marks medical diagnosis instead of the obdurate opacity that regards all freshmen as created equal.

We suspect that in the longer run even this recommendation will have proved too modest. Certainly no hospital offers treatments in such extended fits and starts; and the increasingly student-oriented nature of both our thinking and our machines will, we believe, permit increasing adaptation of the institution to the student's needs, rather than requiring the reverse. We do not pretend that schools and colleges are primarily therapeutic institutions. Yet they, too, exist to help make people better, admitting them, diagnosing and meeting their needs, and then checking them out formally as "cured." Admittedly the analogy is strained, for teachers, unlike physicians, are not free to bury their mistakes. An absence of sensitive, practical wisdom is not as simple either to identify or treat as is an absence of health. Yet on the whole we think the image sound. Just as a hospital staff would hesitate to praise its program if many patients died, the notion that a rigorous program, with a high mortality rate, shows the quality of an educational institution is bound to be replaced increasingly by conclusions stemming from another point of view. What schools and colleges will look like when the customer is king is as difficult to imagine now as it would have been for medieval men to picture present politics and churches. Education is not medieval only in its trappings. It is in many respects the last entrenchment of organized authority. And as its values begin to center on the learner rather than on the learned, its processes and relationships will experience changes we can expect but hardly describe. This Rome was not built in one day either, and dismantling it will take a bit of time.

We were interested to watch developments at St. Andrews Presbyterian

College in Laurinburg, North Carolina, where a new program for both pre-professional and general education seems likely to involve a system of "mini-courses." The length of these flexible, tactical units will not be fixed as a useful fraction of the institution's academic year, but upon the demands and the intent of the materials or ideas that the mini-course is designed to cover. Such a unit, in short, will be primarily designed to fill a need, rather than a block of time. With units of study ranging from a few weeks to perhaps a few months, students and staff will rearrange themselves frequently in accord with growing needs and shifting interests. Problems, complex problems, are involved in such a scheme. But problems exist already in trying to fit students to programs, instead of the more appropriate reverse. This new development may provide one answer to the common criticism that computerized education permits each student to move at his own pace, but at the cost of that sense of individual humanity for which he thirsts. There will still be plenty of work for the teacher; the problem will be to make his efforts count.

As we considered the nature of modern educational programs and of contemporary society, and as we observed the variety of ways in which increasing numbers of colleges are actively setting their schedules to serve their purposes, rather than passively letting habit constrain their hopes, we found ourselves convinced that schools, on the whole, are failing to make full, imaginative use of their powers to plot their "academic year." Feeling falsely trapped, as we pointed out previously, by that same Carnegie unit that was designed to set them free, schools tend to operate as though convinced that anything worth teaching comes in nine-month packages and can be studied only from September into June.

We believe that their first step must be to recognize that the summer months need not be used primarily for vacation or for short-term remedial or experimental work. They must, rather, be so scheduled that they can also constitute a part of the student's formal education. Conversely, his regular schedule must make free provision for such summer work. The establishment of a work-study or off-campus program, as described and recommended earlier in this report, would increase the need for treating each part of the full calendar year as an interchangeable part of the academic sched-

ule. Indeed, our basic argument is that the difference between the "calendar year" and the "academic year" is rapidly becoming obsolete.

More specifically, we recommend that the calendar year be divided into four quarters, each of 10½ weeks' duration and separated by appropriate, short vacations. We expect that the normal year's program of study or off-campus work for any student would involve three out of four such quarters, for we are inclined to favor one totally free quarter every year for young people of the ages we are concerned with. But we do not wish to prescribe which of the three of any four should be in residence or on a job, for we assume that the purpose of a sequence of campus and off-campus terms (including vacations) should be to serve rather than to dictate the content and purposes of each student's program. Further, judging from the experience of those colleges that have made full, aggressive uses of the summer, we expect a large number of students to forego an empty summer in favor of interesting travel, a demanding job, or even formal studies.

We recommend further that the normal faculty program also consist of three out of every four such quarters, but that their specific sequence be such that the faculty and administration be able to adapt at any time to the specific needs of the institution and of men whose professional commitments may involve extended study and writing or travel and other off-campus activities. Again, the basic problem is that of sensing the sharper aims we ought to have and using the many freedoms that are already ours.

3 A General Solution

On Organizing Liberal Education in America

The committee proposes that liberal education can most appropriately be planned to span grades 11 through 14. Our consultations with medical and psychiatric experts supported our earlier conclusions as teachers that the age group of our concern has more in common within itself than it shares with either the younger group or the older group now included with it in schools and colleges respectively. In our further considerations we found, not to our surprise, that the developmental similarities among students in this period of their lives, generally called late adolescence, were evoking similar adjustments in response to a growing sensitivity to the specific educational requirements of this group. We also noted, again consonant with our original conclusion, that these adjustments had required schools to make meaningful, operational distinctions between the large children in their lower grades and their late adolescent juniors and seniors. Colleges making similar responses were sharpening their senses of the different needs of their curious, uncommitted freshmen and sophomores on the one hand and of their increasingly career-oriented juniors and seniors on the other. These separate adjustments, whether in curriculum, community, off-campus work, or schedules, are taking place independently in both schools and colleges. The one family of educational institutions, divided from the other by the national gap between the twelfth and thirteenth grades, shares neither news nor notions with the other. Yet, as we pursued our inquiry, it became increasingly clear that these separate responses were moving toward a common center.

Both in the later years of school and the early ones of college, discipline-oriented, departmentally organized curriculums are being changed to make room for multidisciplinary courses mounted by teachers addressing their differing professional skills to a common task. These new courses we found characterized by a desire to bring the students to a more direct confronta-

tion with their world than traditional training in the disciplines can provide. Similarly, we also saw a deliberate increase in the student's sense of participation in his education in these years. Ad hoc, academic apprenticeships in freshman seminars and various forms of independent study can be said to characterize these moves. Again, we observed a shift away from a concentration on the separate disciplines—whether as instruments of analysis or as skills being developed for adult careers—to include an interest in the student's integration and employment of these disciplines to discover and test himself as a human being.

In residential institutions, whether boarding schools or colleges, we found a thrust, almost uniquely within these years, toward a more effective student sense of participation in the functioning of their institutions. At the same time, and again within these years, we observed that this drive is not one for adult-like commitment to initial careers, but rather a desire—in the community as in the curriculum—to act and to be treated like a person rather than as a set of separate skills. This desire to be accepted and to act, as well as to learn, with seriousness but without commitment seemed similar at both levels and seemed to be evoking similar responses in the structure of academic communities.

It is even altering the traditional notion of these communities' boundaries, as well as of their structure. Thus, again at both levels around their interface, we saw increasing and increasingly successful attempts to merge the academic community with a larger world of real affairs. Late adolescents have been afforded opportunities to participate, as apprentices, not only in the operations of their institutions, but in the broader functions of their society. Again, as with steps taken to penetrate traditional barriers between the disciplines and between teacher and student, we found these measures to unite the institution and the world in a fashion peculiarly valuable for students in their later teens.

We found the shorter, more flexible modules of time that such activities require uniquely appropriate for the students with whose liberal education we were concerned. Modular scheduling is, of course, not new in any of the grades, nor are freely elected moratoriums unknown to graduate schools. In secondary schools and in the initial years of college we were aware of a tradition of solid, year-long courses, one leading to the next, in the

separate disciplines. But we noted that, just as these former monolithic, parallel disciplines are being combined to offer shared experiences in learning, these new multidisciplinary experiences, no longer in a continuous progression, are being set to new, more aggressively flexible and pragmatic schedules precisely in the years of our concern. Thus, for instance, the semester-long freshman seminars at college, explicitly outside sequential departmental programs. Thus, too, the increasing range of shorter, interesting options in English, mathematics, and social studies in the senior year at school. It seems that these years of late adolescence, rather like January at colleges with a winter intersession, are peculiarly appropriate for the romantic, exploratory forms of educational experience. Alfred N. Whitehead proposes that this kind of experience sets apart these years from those of more disciplinary precision.[1]

The scheduling requirements of such deliberate changes in pace and texture from formal instruction in the progressive disciplines have, again, led to astonishingly similar conclusions at a range of institutions operating in independence of each other. The recognition of these apparently optimal lengths of time for off-campus internships is leading, at these institutions, to academic schedules built up out of these units, instead of being cut down from theoretically solid academic years by interrupting vacations. In both colleges and schools, the strongest argument raised against such shorter quarters was that they were irrelevant to the needs of younger students for continuous work in the major disciplines or to those of older, more advanced students with more focused aims.

It seems therefore clear to the committee that we are witnessing a form of biological convergence, in which, through greater awareness of students' specific needs and through such institutional arrangements as the Advanced Placement Program and junior colleges, the later years of many schools are coming increasingly to take on a new form similar to that also being assumed by the early years of many colleges. This new form of institution, both in the upper division of a school or the lower division of a university, will, we are certain, increasingly exhibit the criteria mentioned

---

1. Alfred North Whitehead, "The Romance of Adolescents," in *The Aims of Education and Other Essays.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, pp. 33-35.

here. Students will pass from school to college not at arbitrary points along continuous disciplinary sequences stretching from grade school to graduate degrees, but rather in the midst of shorter, more exploratory and sporadic multidisciplinary studies. These studies will be accompanied by more traditional work, but interspersed, too, with nonacademic apprenticeships in many walks of life.

This liberal institution of the future, then, will exist half in institutions called schools and half in colleges. Compared with traditions of today, it will appear to some to have diluted the academic rigor of the disciplines for the sake of entertaining with superficialities students who do not really wish to learn. Yet we believe that young people do truly wish to learn, and that it is their reaction, both reasoned and instinctive, against a rigor without visible purpose that is driving schools and colleges to the changes we observed. To others, this kind of institution will seem to have extended and enriched truly vocational education to a point of being both technically useful and personally liberating. For whatever such conjectures may be worth, we believe that the end of the fourteenth grade—the completion of the present junior college—will increasingly become an important shifting point in American education, a junction at which students will be able to pass from the deliberately liberal, exploratory studies we describe to more focused, action-oriented three-year master's programs aimed at preparing them for their first careers. In other words, we expect the liberal associate's degree and the career master's to come to mark a sequence of programs parallel to the present Bachelor of Arts, which seeks with increasing difficulty to unite these two quite different purposes in a single program.

The Three-School-Three College Study of the early fifties presented an articulate argument and plan for general education in these four years.[2] The Advanced Placement Program has shown continuous growth in offering a way to assist schools and colleges to coordinate their separate, yet similar, purposes in their students' lives. Yet, as we have attempted to explain in earlier chapters of this report, the present structure of American education impedes their efforts. In the first place, the division between

2. Alan R. Blackmer et al., *General Education in School and College*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.

school and college, and the massive shifts of student population between the two divisions at this point, means that no single institution has the responsibility or opportunity of creating such a four-year program, nor does any institution stand in any clear and constant relationship with its blind partner in each student's life. Thus neither his school nor college can plan the whole four years, nor can they establish an effective partnership for individual students. The dance ceases at 12 and then resumes, with different partners and to different tunes, in grade 13.

In the second place, as we have sketched earlier, the very existence of this break between school and college induces a hesitant conservatism in the later years of school and the early ones of college. The dance slows down as the clock approaches 12. Motions are dutifully repeated, but the dancers' minds are on what is coming next. And then, after the national reshuffling into grade 13, the dance recommences as slowly and uncertainly as it had just run down. The problem here is not simply one of inefficiencies in curricular articulation, but of institutional attitudes toward students about to leave and toward those who have just arrived. We are persuaded that in many ways schools best prepare their students for college when they are intentionally relaxed about the matter, and likewise that colleges receive new students best when they treat them as if, although new to the college, they were not new to liberal learning.

But even this commendable combination of curricular responsibility and relaxation is not enough. As we have also tried to show, there is a marked tendency for the educational requirements of late adolescents to appear marginal both to schools, more mindful of the needs of younger students, and to colleges, where graduate disciplines set the tone. Like the Basques, a minority in two different lands whose common border they straddle, late adolescents in America have no homeland of their own, no institutions with edges, staffs, and missions congruent to their needs.

The committee thinks that the nature of young people in grades 11 through 14 is sufficiently coherent, and that their educational needs are sufficiently unique, that institutions should be established for the purpose of offering integrated programs in liberal education to young people in these years. While we are not quite persuaded that any of the four schools can best use its resources and serve the American educational community

by becoming such an "Intermediate College" (to give such an institution a name), we do wish to urge these schools—and other schools, and colleges —to assist as best they can in the development of what we are convinced will be an increasingly useful instrument in the years ahead.

Such institutions have existed in the past, and some exist today. Educational plans in California once called for local junior colleges linked to the last two years of school. Oxford College of Emory University once had this form. Under Robert Hutchins the University of Chicago embodied much of what we envision. We observed these experiments of the past and decided that negative conclusions need not be drawn. California moved to a statewide, college-system plan. Yet even there we saw growing cooperation among schools in their later years and local colleges. Oxford College grew into a bachelor's institution; yet, if our analysis is correct, such development brings on as many problems as it solves. And Chicago, writing off the later years of high school, wished to offer a full bachelor's program two years earlier than usual.

We do not propose any universal cure, nor do we pretend to plan for entire state systems. Nor are we speaking about acceleration. But we believe that such an institution would be congruent to the borders of a definable plateau in the physical and psychological maturation of adolescents, to the educational requirements of this age group, to the national need to establish apprenticeships for youth, and to their teachers' need for a sense of proper professional purpose. Further, we believe that such institutions would, by their very existence, offer young people a fruitful, invigorating sense of having chosen among alternative paths. Those to whom the traditional structure makes most sense will still have that. We imagine, for instance, that future academicians who wish to apprentice themselves to research scholars as soon as possible, would prefer a secondary school of present form, followed by a departmentally organized university, to what we have in mind. But to many others we are convinced that residential communities, devoted to the programs we describe above, will offer attractive alternatives.

Nothing in our exposition should suggest that it would be inappropriate or unexpected for most such students to go on, after grade 14, to universities for specialized work. But we do feel that since this is a point at which

a significant change in focus occurs, both in life and learning, this is also a sensible time for students to move from one institution to another. Senior colleges are developing a range of programs for graduates of junior colleges. The Johns Hopkins University already admits a significant number of young people to its medical program after their second year of college. We expect these provisions to increase in range and number as this new national shifting point develops after grade 14.

All we are proposing, in a sense, is the establishment of four-year, residential junior colleges, as homelands for the Basques, to use one image, or as dances from 10 until 2, to use another. We have considered the likelihood that there will be challenging problems in developing social rules for any such institution housing students of ages 16 through perhaps 20 and with older adults in residence, as well. We have no final answer to this concern, but we do think that it seems larger in the perspective of the past than it will prove in the future. European secondary schools, many of them residential, have students of these ages. The residential job-training centers, established for the United States Office of Economic Opportunity for young women aged 16 through 21, provide another, if somewhat oblique, example.[3] We believe that only the institution's faculty, officers, and students —the community—can make the appropriate rules. We remain convinced that the problems here are neither so great nor so important as to vitiate the central proposition. On the contrary, they only provide its proper focus: the shaping of a community dedicated to the liberal education of late adolescents. We believe that many of the nation's present independent boarding schools and residential colleges could contribute powerfully to American education by reshaping themselves, or by assisting others in shaping themselves, for this task.

One obvious example of such a development is Simon's Rock, an institution in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, now in its third year of operation. Founded by Elizabeth B. Hall, formerly headmistress of Concord Academy, this is deliberately and explicitly an "Intermediate College." Initially for young women only—because of Mrs. Hall's professional back-

---

3. See Nevitt Sanford, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, pp. 190-191, on these centers and their usefulness as models for broader purposes.

ground and her sense, too, of the conservatism with which parents regard the education of their sons—it is intended to become coeducational, to remain residential, and to continue to offer a program in liberal education through the four years of our concern.

There are problems attendant upon the foundation of any new school or college. But when establishing the institution means establishing its genre as well, special complications can be expected. It doesn't fit peoples' expectations and has, therefore, to prove itself at every step, while equally new but more traditional structures, even if already obsolescent, provide the comforting reassurance of looking and acting like entities that are already known and have been seen to work. We therefore wish to urge the four schools to cooperate with Mrs. Hall in her endeavors and with whatever others take this same brave, yet foreseeable, step. For an audit of the present system is overdue, and new sorts of institutions must be had.

An Example of an Intermediate College

We teachers are, at best, so concerned for the future of the race and, at worst, so impressed with the education that made us what we are that we find the prospect of meaningful, structural changes in our profession almost painful to contemplate. At the same time our aims are so diffuse, and the relationship of even the best of our processes to them often so invisible, that it is difficult for us or others to arrive at rational judgments on these issues, even if we can bring ourselves to try. Thus even while we use television, Xeroxes, and jets, we continue to employ professional forms and structures, developed to serve other conditions in another age, as though they were uniquely valuable ends in themselves. Thus, too, it is only wise to make whatever changes one deems necessary as gentle and as minimal as possible: even if one can always find students and parents bold enough to follow ways of change, it may prove difficult to find a staff to lean on.

It therefore did not astonish us to find the several sorts of changes that we observed occurring singly or in small bunches rather than as a completely novel package. Multidisciplinary courses are at home in otherwise traditional day schools with inherited calendars. Participating academic communities are offering regular courses in old-style academic years. Any liberal institution that so chooses can establish off-campus experiences that complement traditional programs, and shorter courses can be introduced at any school. For this reason we took pains to distinguish clearly among the several areas in which we foresee and recommend change. If they are interrelated, as we think they are, by the coherent nature and needs of the age group of our concern, they also lie on different dimensions and can be treated separately. Various institutions, with various traditions, various goals, and various resources, will find some of the changes we describe more attractive to their purposes than others. At the least, however, and

mindful that there are many other dimensions we did not treat at length, we earnestly hope that, in the years immediately ahead, liberal institutions will lay their plans and operations against the measures we propose. We are certain that they will find better answers; we ask only that they note the questions we have put. For this same reason we were not astonished to find an actual Intermediate College like Simon's Rock incorporating less than all five of our proposals. Similar institutions of the past and proposed ones of the future show less radical changes than all that we propose. The proposal for an experimental college at the State University of New York at Albany concentrates on the uses of a union of the later years of school and the early ones of college rather than on off-campus work. Other less public yet equally interesting proposals have described similar unions of these years into "Schools of Humanity" or American-sponsored, four-year junior colleges abroad.

We have been interested, indeed sustained in our conclusions, by this variety of possible uses of the plan. It is clear that there will be an even broader range of such institutions in the near future. Some will be liberal, others technological in their emphases; some expensive, and some of lower costs. Initially, we suspect, most will be independent; but in the longer run we see no reason why public Intermediate Colleges should not exist. Indeed, there is every reason to think they should and thus, eventually, will. The same apparent variety of possible styles, of interests and needs to be served, that encouraged us in our quest also argues that statewide educational systems will find Intermediate Colleges of use.

Our charge, however, asked for specific recommendations. So, while thinking hard about our separate and separable recommendations and about the viability of the new sort of institution we propose, we have also arrived at more detailed notions of the sort of Intermediate College we have in mind. Although the recommendations are separable in practice, they were firmly linked in our considerations, where they depicted the liberal institution of the future from five different points of view. The residential arrangements and the curriculum are, for instance, two ways an institution mounts its plan. Off-campus experiences are linked to the new evolving sense of the academic community, and the schedule must be freed to serve these ends. With the double purpose, then, of showing both how these prop-

ositions hang together and how they might operate in their own domains in practice we offer here a rough sketch of the sort of institution we have in mind.

Our Intermediate College is a relatively independent component of a small university. The university assumed its present form as the result of a recent decision to combine the several master's programs of an urban collversity with appropriate undergraduates majors and, simultaneously, to enlarge the lower college by enlarging its program to include the eleventh and twelfth grades.

The entire institution operates on a calendar of four 10½-week terms in each year. In the academic year 1968-69, the calendar looks like this:[1]

Fall term	October 7–December 18
Winter term	January 8–March 22
Spring term	April 14–June 25
Summer term	July 9–September 20

At the Intermediate College, regular tuition covers instruction and off-campus internships in any three of a year's four terms. Students are, however, free to elect to enroll and pay for a fourth term in any year. More than a few elect this option, especially those who wish to combine a spring and summer or a summer and a fall in travel and study at one of the college's splinter campuses abroad without missing another term. Some, on the other hand, take two successive terms off to complete active military service before joining the active reserve.

The college has a total enrollment of about 1,000 students. Of these roughly 200 are on personal vacations every term. Of the 800 students in active programs at any time, something like 100 are away from the main campus. Most of these are at one of the college's five splinter campuses. One of these is at the state capital, one in Washington, one in New York City, one at a nearby scientific research center, and the fifth in a provincial capital of France. Others, on more individual projects, are in Appalachia, Mexico, and scattered about the world on separate jobs. Every twelfth-grader is expected to attend one splinter campus for one term. A second

1. This schedule derives directly from the Four Term Plan of the Woodstock Country School.

such term may be taken off-campus in either the twelfth or thirteenth grade, and a third term away may replace a vacation in these years. The first and fourth years, however, are spent in residence, unless the general rule appears to make less sense than does a specific exception.

Thus the college offers a four-year program covering grades 11 through 14. But its edges are rather fuzzy: some students enter after eleventh grade elsewhere, most of them repeating a year, and a few enter one year "early." Some students decide to leave before completing the entire program in order to pursue more concentrated studies at other universities. They are congratulated on discovering this new informing purpose in their lives, seen off with generous goodwill, and often welcomed back, with full credit for a learning experience away.

Students in residence take three courses plus a broadly integrative college-wide seminar every term. This seminar, on a shifting set of subjects from year to year, is deliberately organized to involve a range of students of different interests and classes in weekly discussion groups based on readings. Of the other courses, some are rather traditional in nature and others are mounted by multidisciplinary task forces or are candid explorations of newer fields. Students brought with them a working knowledge of English, of one foreign language, and of mathematics through basic algebra and geometry when they came. They are expected to include three more elected quarters each, or their off-campus equivalents, of language, literature or other cultural readings in a foreign tongue, mathematics, natural science, social studies, and the arts. These 18 normally required quarters, or their equivalents away, thus constitute half of the students' total college programs. In most cases this half includes off-campus time spent in laboratories, governmental offices, art studios, or foreign lands. The college-wide seminars, other off-campus internships and study, and further local studies will fill each student's program as determined by him and his adviser. Although there are no prescribed major programs he must choose from, he will be free, indeed encouraged, to wallow wherever and whenever his interests demand. An independent senior project and oral examination are required for graduation.

The faculty consists of the equivalent of roughly 100 full-time appointments. This faculty, although organized independently of the other elements

of the university, holds many joint appointments with the problem-oriented institutes elsewhere in the university and with problem-oriented offices throughout the community. Other faculty members, especially those in residence, are engaged full-time in providing an informed and caring adult presence in studies, laboratories, and, in general, throughout the halls. The entire community is deliberately organized to make living and learning seem as one.

This community is divided into three residential units or "houses," one of which is each student's home, or home base, for his four years' stay. Each house is coeducational, with separate wings for men and women; consists of public rooms, designed for conversation, and apartments; and includes, in its full membership, students, resident faculty, and nonresident associated staff.

A vigorous, if somewhat jerry-built, program of interest groups and athletics completes the scene. Through these opportunities, the community organizes concerts, plays, and games principally among its members and for their own delight, but occasionally in more public format, in cooperation with students and staff from other institutions. Former players on the staff try to provide direction, yet the comings and goings of students to the home campus from and to studies away keep these experiences from becoming as intense, and perhaps therefore as rewarding, as they might otherwise be. But there are more concentrated professional opportunities elsewhere for those who want them. The students at our college take these shortcomings in their strides around the world.

Preparation for studies away at the splinter campuses takes many forms, but in every case the students know where they are going and have engaged in anticipatory readings and discussions. When they return, they will help successive groups of students prepare for their internships off-campus. At their splinter campuses they will live in groups of approximately 20 with a faculty adviser who organizes the educational component of their experiences there. Increasingly, the college is finding ways to share these campuses, both in America and abroad, with other colleges. In this way they are finding it possible to increase the range of experiences available at no increase in cost. These negotiations, together with the organization of the college's own splinter campuses and individual projects, are the responsi-

bility of the Director of Field Studies, one of the busiest educators at the college.

Local adults are enrolled in many courses. For their convenience, some of these courses are regularly scheduled in the late afternoon or early evening. All courses are scheduled on a flexible modular plan in such a manner that they can meet as frequently and as long as their differing purposes require.

A candid, caring, and informed faculty adviser is readily available to every student. The house, while large enough to grant each his privacy, is at the same time small enough to make it impossible for adviser and student to hide from one another. Together they discuss the student's selection of courses, his off-campus experiences, and his later plans.

Many students interrupt their education after graduation—some for marriage, some for military service, and some to enter into adult affairs. Many others, however, and in increasing numbers, proceed to a growing range of three-year, action-oriented master's programs in teaching, nursing, city planning, environmental studies, social work, and other professions of the newer times. Still others go on to other universities to complete premedical studies, prelaw studies, or traditional bachelor's programs.

But even these graduates return. The college is a bustling place, with people constantly moving in and out, sharing ideas and experiences with each other and, most important, with the late adolescents, whose place this principally is, where they learn to know the world they are about to inherit.

Conclusion

This, then, is our report. Asked whether structural changes might improve the liberal education of our nation's late adolescents, we report that we believe they will. The headmasters had suggested several measures that schools might take alone or in consortiums on their side of the school-college managerial gap. Such measures as working internships in the last part of the senior year at school or during an entire year between school and college commended themselves to us, as they have to others. In the course of our inquiry, it became increasingly clear that many of the older students in American secondary schools could profit from such temporary apprenticeships in the adult world. The headmasters' thought of assisting in the establishment of a junior college had much to commend itself to us, for we concluded, too, that many of the younger students in American universities could profit from educational programs based on broader perspectives than departmental majors can provide. Again, as in the schools, we observed trends in this direction.

But we observed, too, that these trends in either camp are toward a common ground. This convergence struck us as an empirical demonstration of what we had gathered from our own experience as teachers, from our readings and conversations, and from the students of human development whom we consulted: late adolescents, whether they are in schools or colleges, have a coherent, common set of attributes and educational needs. These needs, whether for multidisciplinary courses, for participatory academic communities, for opportunities for work experiences, or for more flexible, pragmatic schedules, characterize the converging motions in the years of our concern. They therefore constitute the bases of our first four sets of propositions.

We are also persuaded that the area of this convergence marks an identifiable age group whose education could be best served if organized within a single institution. We have called such an institution an Intermediate College in this report. We believe that its compass would be more congruent to their stage in human development and that its program would

be more congruent to their educational needs than those of secondary schools and colleges, with their broader age groups, can ever be.

For that reason we think that such measures taken only in schools or colleges cannot be complete, for the mere existence of the school-college interface within these years introduces constraints and inefficiencies in the liberal education of late adolescents. On the other hand, we are persuaded that their education can be remarkably improved through the addition of Intermediate Colleges to the American educational scene. Not only do we believe such institutions would be prepared to offer more liberating experiences to many young people than do present schools and colleges, but we also think the existence of these alternate paths from secondary school into college and beyond would represent a meaningful gain.

We therefore urge most strongly that the four schools, indeed, all institutions and people with an interest in this problem, assist as best they can in the establishment and growth of the institutions we describe. We hold them to be valuable, viable, and even necessary to the education of our youth.

Bibliography

Barker, Roger, and Gump, Paul, *Big School, Small School*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964.

Blackmer, Alan R. et al., *General Education in School and College*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Blaine, Graham B. Jr., *Youth and the Hazards of Affluence; The High School and College Years*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1966.

Blos, Peter, *On Adolescence; A Psychoanalytic Interpretation*. First paperback edition. New York: The Free Press, 1966.

Booth, Wayne C., ed., *The Knowledge Most Worth Having*. A publication of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Year of The University of Chicago. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Casserly, Patricia Lund, *To See Ourselves As Others See Us*. An evaluation of the Advanced Placement Program by students from 252 secondary schools at 20 colleges. Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1968.

Committee on Adolescence, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, *Normal Adolescence: Its Dynamics and Impact*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968.

Conant, James B., *The Comprehensive High School*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967.

Dalrymple, Willard, "The Case for a Hiatus between School and College," *University—A Princeton Quarterly*, No. 35, Winter 1967-68, pp. 17-18.

Dalrymple, Willard, "The College Dropout Phenomenon," *NEA Journal*, Vol. 56, No. 4, April 1967, pp. 11-13.

Elam, Stanley, and McLure, William P., eds., *Educational Requirements for the 1970's; An Interdisciplinary Approach*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967.

Erikson, Erik H., *Childhood and Society*. Second edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963.

Erikson, Erik H., "Identity and the Life Cycle," *Psychological Issues*, Vol. 1, No. 1, International Universities Press, New York, 1959, pp. 50-165.

Eurich, Alvin C., ed., *Campus 1980; The Shape of the Future in American Higher Education*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1968.

Faust, Clarence H., "The Care and Feeding of Institutions." *Saturday Review*, March 30, 1968, pp. 12-16.

Fiser, W. S. et al., "New Patterns of Undergraduate Education; Second Draft of Report of the Special Committee on Undergraduate Education." Albany, N. Y.: State University of New York at Albany, *The Albany Student Press*, special edition, March 1968.

Freedman, Mervin B., *The College Experience.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967.

Friedenberg, Edgar Z., *Coming of Age in America; Growth and Acquiescence.* New York: Random House, 1965.

Friedenberg, Edgar Z., *The Vanishing Adolescent.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

Gallagher, J. Roswell, and Harris, Herbert I., *Emotional Problems of Adolescents.* Revised edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Goodman, Paul, *Compulsory Mis-education and the Community of Scholars.* New York: Vintage Books, 1966.

Grannis, Joseph C., "The School as a Model of Society." *Harvard Graduate School of Education Association Bulletin,* Vol. 21, No. 2, Fall 1967, pp. 15-27.

Hall, Edward T., "Where Should School End and College Begin?" *Yale Alumni Magazine,* Vol. XXXI, No. 1, Oct. 1967, pp. 33-35.

Hall, Elizabeth B., *The House of Education Needs Overhaul; The Theory Behind Simon's Rock.* Great Barrington, Mass.: Simon's Rock, July 1967.

Hall, Elizabeth B., *Simon's Rock is an "Early College."* Great Barrington, Mass.: Simon's Rock, Feb. 1966.

Halleck, Seymour L., Paper presented to American Psychiatric Association May 11, 1967, as reported in *The New York Times,* May 12, 1967.

Hampshire College, *Hampshire College Academic Program.* Working Brief Number One. Amherst, Mass.: Hampshire College, Oct. 1967.

Hampshire College, *Hampshire College Plans in Brief.* Working Brief Number Two. Amherst, Mass.: Hampshire College, Dec. 1967.

Hampshire College, *The Making of a College.* Working Paper Number One. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966.

Heath, Douglas H., *Explorations of Maturity.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965.

Heath, Douglas H., *Growing Up in College: Liberal Education and Maturity.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1968.

Holt, John, *How Children Fail.* New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1964.

Holt, John, *How Children Learn.* New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967.

Jencks, Christopher, and Riesman, David, *The Academic Revolution.* New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968.

Katz, Joseph, ed., *Growth and Constraint in College Students; A Study of the Varieties of Psychological Development.* Pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and under grant from the Danforth Foundation, Institute for the Study of Human Problems. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1967.

Keeton, Morris T., "Uncertain Future for the Small College." *Saturday Review,* Feb. 17, 1968, pp. 60-62, 68.

Keniston, Kenneth, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965.

Kimball, Solon T., and McClellan, James E. Jr., *Education and the New America.* First Vintage Books edition. New York: Vintage Books, 1966.

McLuhan, Marshall, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man.* New York: Signet Books, 1964.

Mallery, David, *High School Students Speak Out.* New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962.

Mallery, David, *A New Look at the Senior Year.* Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, May 1967.

Mattfeld, Jacquelyn, "The Viability of the Sarah Lawrence Plan." Background paper for case study. Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, New York, Feb. 1967.

Michael, Donald N., *The Next Generation; The Prospects Ahead for the Youth of Today and Tomorrow.* New York: Vintage Books, 1965.

Morgan, R. M., and Bushnell, D. S., *Designing an Organic Curriculum.* Unpublished report for Bureau of Research, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., Nov. 1966.

Murray, Henry A., *Explorations in Personality.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

National Center for Educational Statistics, *Projections of Educational Statistics to 1976-77.* Office of Education. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968.

Neill, A. S., *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing.* Second paperback edition. New York: Hart Publishing Company, 1964.

Newman, Fred M., and Oliver, Donald W., "Education and Community." *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol. 37, No. 1, Winter 1967, pp. 61-106.

Nomer, Howell E, "Do most students need 'time out' between school and college?" *College Roard Review,* No. 67, Spring 1968, pp. 21-23.

Patterson, Gardner, "Coeducation—An Interim Report." *Princeton Alumni Weekly,* Vol. LXVIII, No. 21, March 12, 1968, pp. 6-8, 11.

Pervin, Lawrence A.; Reik, Louis E.; Dalrymple, Willard, eds., *The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Richmond College of The City University of New York, *Master Plan 1968-1972.* New York, Feb. 1968.

Rousseau, G. S., "What's Wrong with Our Teaching of English?" *Harvard Alumni Bulletin,* Vol. 70, No. 13, April 27, 1968, pp. 18-23.

Sanford, Nevitt, *Where Colleges Fail.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1967.

Sanford, Nevitt, ed., *The American College; A Psychological and Social Interpretation of the Higher Learning.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962.

Sanford, Nevitt, and Katz, Joseph, "Freedom and Authority in Higher Education," *Comparative Education,* Vol. 3, No. 2, March 1967, pp. 101-106.

Bibliography

Schaefer, Robert J., *The School as a Center of Inquiry*. New York: Harper & Row. Publishers, 1967.

State University College, *Statement of First Program*. Old Westbury, New York: State University College, Sept. 1968.

Swarthmore College, *Critique of a College*. Reports of the Commission on Educational Policy; Special Committee on Library Policy; and Special Committee on Student Life. Swarthmore, Pa.: Swarthmore College, 1967.

Ulich, Robert, *Crisis and Hope in American Education*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1951.

Whitehead, Alfred North, *The Aims of Education and Other Essays*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Whitla, Dean K., "Candidate Overlap Studies and Other Admissions Research" in *College Admissions Policies for the 1970s*. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1968.

Woodring, Paul, *The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968.

*Consultants**

Michael Alchediak, S.J., Principal, George W. Strake Memorial Jesuit College Preparatory, Houston, Texas

Douglas Allanbrook, Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

Bernard Arnest, Chairman, Department of Art, Colorado College

Dana C. Backus, Esq., Kramer Marx Greenlee & Backus, New York, New York

D. G. Bahlinger, S.J., Guidance Director, George W. Strake Memorial Jesuit College Preparatory, Houston, Texas

Dudley W. R. Bahlman, Professor of History, Williams College

Robert S. Bart, Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

John R. Bergen, Assistant Director of Studies, The Taft School, Watertown, Connecticut

John L. Biester, Associate Professor of Chemistry; Associate Director of Field Placement Program, Beloit College

James H. Billington, Professor of History, Princeton University

Congressman John Brademas (D-Ind.) and Staff, Washington, District of Columbia

Morton W. Briggs, Acting Director, Honors College; Professor of Romance Languages; Secretary of the Faculty; Associate Chairman of the Master of Arts in Teaching Program, Wesleyan University

R. Louis Bright, Associate Commissioner for Research, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, District of Columbia

Phillip L. Bullock, Professor of Religion and Division Chairman, St. Andrews Presbyterian College

David N. Bushell, Director, Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Research, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, District of Columbia

Timothy C. Callard, Instructor of Religion; Director of the 1967 South End Summer Internship, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

Jane Campbell, Director of Admissions, State University College, Old Westbury, New York

Patricia L. Casserly, Senior Research Assistant, Higher Education, Developmental Branch, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey

John Chandler Jr., Consultant, National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, Massachusetts

John W. Chandler, Dean of the Faculty, Williams College

Robert E. Chiles, Associate Dean and Executive Assistant to the President, Richmond College

R. Inslee Clark Jr., Dean of Admissions and Student Appointments, Yale University

---

* Titles shown are those held at the time of assistance to the Study.

Consultants

Desmond Cole, Director, United Nations International School, New York, New York
Miriam M. Conable, Linguistics and English, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York
Congressman Silvio O. Conte (R-Mass.) and Staff, Washington, District of Columbia
Willard Dalrymple, M.D., Director, Princeton University Health Services, Princeton University
Robert F. Davidson, Dean of the College, St. Andrews Presbyterian College
Richard W. Davis, Headmaster, Miss Porter's School, Farmington, Connecticut
Robert F. DeHaan, Professor of Education and Chairman of the Department, Hope College; Director of Programed Instruction Project, Great Lakes College Association, Detroit, Michigan
David N. Denman, Coordinator of the Four Term Plan, Woodstock Country School, South Woodstock, Vermont
William M. Dietel, Headmaster, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York
William L. Dunn, Provost and Dean of the Faculty, Lake Forest College
John Elmendorf, President, New College, Sarasota, Florida
Nell Eurich, Dean of Faculty, Vassar College
Carl A. Fields, Assistant Director, Bureau of Student Aid, Princeton University
William D. Geer Jr., Principal, Newton South High School, Newton Centre, Massachusetts
Delta W. Gier, Professor of Chemistry and Division Chairman, St. Andrews Presbyterian College
Fred L. Glimp, Dean of Harvard College, Harvard University
Robert L. Goldberg, Director of Administration, State University College, Old Westbury, New York
Harold B. Gores, President, Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc., New York, New York
Joseph C. Grannis, Associate Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University
Wellington V. Grimes, Director of Academic Services, National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, Massachusetts
C. Hess Haagen, Director of Counseling and Career Planning; Lecturer in Psychology, Wesleyan University
Elizabeth B. Hall, Director, Simon's Rock, Great Barrington, Massachusetts
Livingston Hall, Professor of Law, Law School of Harvard University
Van R. Halsey, Director of Admissions, Hampshire College
Henry M. Halsted III, The Associated Colleges of the Midwest, Chicago, Illinois
George H. Hanford, Executive Vice President, College Entrance Examination Board, New York, New York
Sumner Hayward, Director, The Associated Colleges of the Midwest, Chicago, Illinois
Douglas H. Heath, Chairman, Department of Psychology, Haverford College

Richard Hiler, Urban Studies; Director of Admissions, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

John W. Hogarty, Chairman, Extramural Programs, Antioch College

Lewis M. Hoskins, Professor of History; Director, International Programs Office, Earlham College; Administrator, Japan Program, Great Lakes College Association, Detroit, Michigan

Stanley J. Idzerda, Dean of the College, Wesleyan University

Walter Illsley, Economics of Developing Nations, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

Congressman Donald J. Irwin (D-Conn.) and Staff, Washington, District of Columbia

H. Mark Johnson, Teacher of History; member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Robert J. Keefe, English Coordinator, Ipswich Public Schools, Ipswich, Massachusetts

John S. Kieffer, Dean, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

Erwin H. Kitzrow, Dean of Faculty, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Jacob Klein, Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

Samuel S. Kutler, Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

Charles F. Lauter, Assistant Dean for Students, Wesleyan University

Jo Leigh Luckett, Social Work, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

Hugh P. McGrath, Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

David Mallery, Director of Studies, National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, Massachusetts

Janet A. Maly, Chairman, Mathematics Department; member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Harold C. Martin, President, Union College, Schenectady, New York

Jacquelyn Mattfeld, Dean of the College, Sarah Lawrence College

David E. Matz, Executive Assistant, Hampshire College

John Mayher, Robert Shore White Professor of History; Instructor in Effective Speaking; Director, Washington Intern Program, The Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire

Arthur Meyer, Acting Director, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

Bernard S. Miller, Principal, Hunter College High School, New York, New York

Frank R. Miller, Director of Administrative Services, National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, Massachusetts

Archibald R. Montgomery III, Headmaster, The Garrison Forest School, Garrison, Maryland

Edwin M. Moseley, Provost and Dean of the Faculty, Skidmore College

John M. Pasanen, Teacher of English; member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Consultants

Anthony Pearce, International Relations and Political Studies; Director of Studies, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

Marjorie Pickard, College Guidance Counselor; member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Paul M. Pierson, M.D., Resident Physician, The Hill School, Pottstown, Pennsylvania

Cary Potter, President, National Association of Independent Schools, Boston, Massachusetts

Edith Prescott, Teacher of English; member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Richard Proskauer, Natural Sciences, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

Thomas B. Ragle, President, Marlboro College

Christian M. Ravndal, Clerk, The Meeting School, West Rindge, New Hampshire

Louis E. Reik, M.D., Chief Psychiatrist, Princeton University Health Services, Princeton University

Lawrence Resnick, Professor and Chairman of Independent Study Program, State University College, Old Westbury, New York

John E. Sawyer, President, Williams College

Priscilla Scarlett, Admissions, North American Center, Friends World Institute, Westbury, New York

Marigwen Schumacher, Teacher of Greek and Latin; member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Edleff H. Schwaab, Clinical Psychologist, The Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire

Congressman Fred Schwengel (R-Iowa) and Staff, Washington, District of Columbia

Henry Scott, Dean of Students, State University College, Old Westbury, New York

Benjamin R. Shute, Dean of Students, member of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

J. Winfree Smith Jr., Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

Ernest Stabler, Professor of Education; Chairman of the Master of Arts in Teaching Program, Wesleyan University

Richard T. Stavig, Dean of Off-Campus Programs, Kalamazoo College

Horace D. Stephens, Instructor in Mathematics, Tabor Academy, Marion, Massachusetts

Frank M. Stewart, Assistant Dean of Freshmen, Wesleyan University

Fred H. Stocking, Morris Professor of Rhetoric, Williams College

Irvin Taube, M.D., Instructor in Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School; Research Psychiatrist, Harvard University Health Services, Harvard University; Staff Psychiatrist, Massachusetts Mental Health Center, Boston, Massachusetts; Consultant in Psychiatry, The Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire

Kenneth H. Thompson, Associate Dean, Berea College

Louis A. Toepfer, Dean, The Franklin Thomas Backus School of Law, Case Western Reserve University

Frederick G. Torrey, Headmaster, The Loomis School, Windsor, Connecticut

Robert G. Trimble, Assistant Professor of Spanish; Director, Spring Term Course in Spanish Conversation in Mexico, Hanover College

Melvin M. Tumin, Professor of Sociology, Princeton University

Thomas L. Vander Voort, Executive Assistant to Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.), Washington, District of Columbia

Richard T. Vann, Senior Tutor and Associate Professor of History, College of Letters; Chairman, Educational Policy Committee, Wesleyan University

Robert M. Vogel, President, Bradford Junior College

Wilcomb E. Washburn, Chairman, Department of American Studies, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia

Eva Walsh, Assistant Professor of English; Chairman, Faculty Committee on Interim 1968, Rockford College

Richard D. Weigle, President, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland

Kenneth Wentworth, member of the Music Faculty; Director, Upward Bound Program, Sarah Lawrence College

Edward T. Wilcox, Director of Advanced Standing in Harvard College; Director, Freshman Seminar Program, Harvard College; member of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University

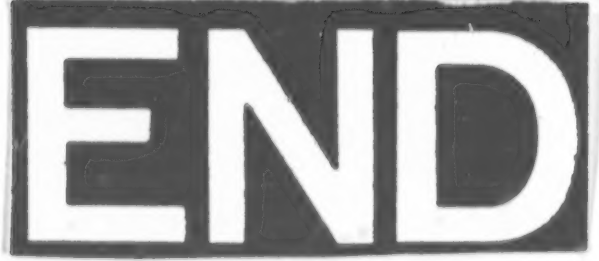
Harris Wofford, President, State University College, Old Westbury, New York

John H. Yardley, M.D., Associate Professor for Pathology; Assistant Dean of Admissions, The Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University

Richard A. Zajchowski, Teacher of English; Librarian; chairman of Curriculum Committee, Emma Willard School, Troy, New York

Jerome Ziegler, Vice President for Planning and Administration, State University College, Old Westbury, New York

Elliott Zuckerman, Tutor, St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland


END